

*The English Works of
Raja Rammohun Roy*

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RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY.

The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy

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Editor

JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE

With an English Translation of
TUHFATUL MUWAHHIDDIN

VOLUME IV



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C O N T E N T S .



	PAGE.
Biographical Sketch of the Author	ix
Introduction	xiii
Translation of an abridgment of the Vedanta	1
Do. the Mundakopanishad	19
Do. the Kenopanishad	33
Do. the Kathopanishad	43
Do. the Isopanishad	61
Divine Worship by means of the Gayatri	79
A Defence of Hindu Theism	87
A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vedas ...	101
An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude ...	127
Religious instructions founded on sacred authorities ...	133
The Brahmunical Magazine	143
Answer of a Hindu, &c.	199
Translation of a Sanskrit Tract on Different Modes of Worship 205	
Humble Suggestions, &c.	209
The Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj	213
Autobiographical Sketch	223
Introduction, &c.	227
Preliminary Remarks—Brief Sketch of the Ancient and Modern Boundaries and History of India	231
Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India ...	239
Do. do. on the Revenue System of India ...	277
A paper on the Revenue System of India	287
Additional Queries, respecting the condition of India ...	295
Appendix	303
Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans ...	313

	PAGE
Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of Burning Widows Alive; from the original Bungla	321
A second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of Burning Widows Alive	333
Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite	365
Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance	373
Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal. Appendix : Hindoo Law of Inheritance	385
Petition against the Press Regulation : (1) to the Supreme Court, and (2) to the King in Council	465
A letter to Lord Amherst on English Education	469
Address to Lord William Bentinck	473
Anti-Suttee Petition to the House of Commons	473
The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness	481
An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus	545
Second Appeal to the ditto ditto	566
Final Appeal to the ditto ditto	677
A Letter on the Prospects of Christianity	875
The Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity	889
A Dialogue between a Missionary and Three Chinese Converts	909
Speeches and Letters	915
Petition to Government against the Resumption of Lakhheraj Lands	935
A Present to the Believers in one God	941
Index	958

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
2. " " "	<i>To face page</i>	..	223
3. Death-mask	" "	" "	481
4. Tomb	" " "	" "	875

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

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Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj or the Theistic Church of India, was born at Radhanagar, Bengal, in May 1772, of an ancient and honourable Brahman family. His father gave him a good education; he learnt Persian at home, Arabic at Patna (where he studied Euclid, Aristotle and the Koran), and Sanskrit at Benares. Although a devout idolater in boyhood, he early began to doubt and speculate, and at fifteen left home to study Buddhism in Tibet, where his criticisms on Lama-worship gave much offence. After some years' travel he returned, but, his anti-idolatrous sentiments obliging him to leave home, he lived at Benares until his father's death in 1803. After this, he spent about ten years in the East India Company's service, latterly as Dewan or head officer in the collection of Revenues. During this period he first began to assemble his friends together for evening discussions on the absurdities of idolatry, and he also issued his first work, *Tuhfat ul-Muwahhiddin* ("A gift to Monotheists"). This treatise was in Persian, with an Arabic preface, and was a bold protest against superstition and priestcraft. These proceedings brought on him much hostility, and even persecution, and in 1814 he retired to Calcutta for greater safety. Here he soon established a little Friendly Society (Atmiya Sabha), which met weekly to read the Hindu Scriptures and to chant Monotheistic hymns. In 1816 he translated the Vedanta into Bengali and Hindustani, following this by a series of translations from the Upanishads into Bengali, Hindustani and English, with introductions and comments of his own. These works he published at his own cost and disseminated widely among his countrymen. His writings excited much opposition and gave rise to numerous controversies, in which his ability, tact and learning rendered him fully a match for his antagonists. But the deadliest blow he inflicted upon Hindu superstition was his effective agitation against the rite of Suttee, the burning of living widows on the piles of their deceased husbands.

In 1811 he had been a horrified witness of this sacrifice in his elder brother's family, and he had vowed never to rest until he had uprooted this custom. He exposed the hollow pretences of its advocates in elaborate pamphlets both in Bengali and English, and pressed the matter in every possible way, till at last the tide of public feeling turned, and on December 4, 1829, Lord William Bentinck issued a regulation abolishing Suttee throughout all the territories subject to Fort William. Rammohun was an active politician and philanthropist. He built school-houses and established schools in which useful knowledge was gratuitously taught through the medium both of the English and the native languages. He wrote a suggestive Bengali Grammar, of which he published one version in English (1826) and one in Bengali (1833). He wrote valuable pamphlets on Hindu law and made strenuous exertions for the freedom of the native Press ; he also established (1822) and mainly conducted two native newspapers, the *Sambad Kaumudi* in Bengali, and the *Mirat-al-Akhbar* in Persian and made them the means of diffusing much useful political information. Becoming interested in Christianity he learned Hebrew and Greek in order to read the Bible in the original languages, and in 1820 he issued a selection from the four Gospels entitled the Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and happiness. This was attacked by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampur, and a long controversy ensued in which he published three remarkable Appeals to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." He also wrote other theological tracts (sometimes under assumed names) in which he attacked both Hindu and Christian orthodoxy with a strong hand. But his personal relations with orthodox Christians were never unfriendly, and he rendered valuable assistance to Dr. Duff in the latter's educational schemes. He also warmly befriended a Unitarian Christian Mission which was started in Calcutta (1824) by Mr. William Adam, formerly a Baptist Missionary, who, in attempting to convert Rammohun to trinitarianism was himself converted to the opposite view. This Unitarian Mission, though not a theological success, attracted considerable sympathy among the Hindu Monotheists, whose Atmiya Sabha had then become extinct. At last Rammohun felt able to re-embodify his cherished ideal, and on August 20, 1828, he opened the first Brahma Association (Brahma Sabha) at a hired house.

A suitable church-building was then erected and placed in the hands of trustees, with a small endowment and a remarkable trust-deed by which the building was set apart "for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the universe." The new church was formally opened on the 11th Magh (January 23), 1830, from which day the Brahma Samaj dates its existence. Having now succeeded in his chief projects, Rammohun resolved to visit England, and the King of Delhi appointed him envoy thither on special business, and gave him the title of Raja. He arrived in England on April 8, 1831, and was received with universal cordiality and respect. He watched with special anxiety the parliamentary discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's charter and gave much valuable evidence before the Board of Control on the condition of India. This he republished with additional suggestions ("Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India") and also reissued his important "Essay on the Right of Hindus over Ancestral Property". He visited France, and wished to visit America, but died unexpectedly of brain-fever at Bristol, September 27, 1833. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

INTRODUCTION.

All earnest attempts at reform, whether religious, social, political, or of any other description, are based on faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice and humanity, which is synonymous with a belief in the moral government of the Universe. This is an essential element in religious belief. One would, therefore, expect to find Raja Rammohun Roy, the first all-round reformer in modern India, "above all and beneath all a religious personality. The many and far-reaching ramifications of his prolific energy were forth-puttings of one purpose. The root of his life was religion. He would never have been able to go so far or to move his countrymen so mightily as he did but for the driving power of an intense theistic passion." As in his life so in his writings, religion occupies the foremost place. His writings on religious subjects are the most important and most voluminous. But their very extent and variety are apt to puzzle those who may strive to find out the exact nature of his religious faith. The late Babu Rajnarain Bose had it from his father, a disciple of the Raja, that the latter before his departure to England had foretold that after his death various sects would claim him as belonging to their own particular ranks, but he declared that he did not belong to any particular sect. What the Raja foresaw has actually taken place. "It has been said that Rammohun Roy delighted to pass for a believer in the Vedanta with the Hindus, for a Christian among the adherents of that creed, and for a disciple of the Koran with the champions of Islamism.* The truth is that his eclecticism equalled his sincerity."† It would be out of place here to enter into a discussion of the question of his religious belief. Suffice it to say that he believed in pure theism, as his *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin* on the one hand and the Trust-Deed of the Brahmo Samaj on the other, in addition to

His habit, in his religious controversies with various sects, of taking his stand not merely upon pure reason but mainly upon their scriptures led some people to think that he was all things to all men. This, of course, is a mistake. His controversial method was meant to convince the followers of different faiths that even their scriptures, which they professed implicitly to follow, enjoined the worship of the one true God.

* *The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought*, by Count Goblet d'Alviella, p. 233.

† For an exhaustive discussion of the subject see the Raja's biography in Bengali, by Babu Narendranath Chatterji, which ought to be translated into English.

many of his other works, prove conclusively. He did not reject any truth to be found in any scriptures or in the teachings of any prophet or saint ; he revered and accepted truth from all quarters, but at the same time he did not accept any book or teacher as infallible. It should not, however, be forgotten that though he was thus cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called national or racial manifestations or developments of universal theism. His partiality (in no narrow sense) for the ethical portion of Christ's teachings is evident. But it would be wrong to suppose for that reason that he was exclusively or even principally a follower of Jesus. In making this statement we do not solely or chiefly rely on his prose writings in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English or Bengali. His hymns in Bengali, too, in our opinion, afford a correct idea of the faith that lay enshrined in the deepest recesses of his heart. For, poetry springs from a deeper source in the soul than anything that is merely didactic, controversial, doctrinal or philosophical. And from the Raja's Bengali devotional poetry, one cannot but take him to have been a Hindu Theist or a theistic Vedantist.

It is sometimes asked whether Rammohun Roy intended that the society for the worship of one God that he founded should have a social counterpart in a religious community separate from all existing ones, such as the Brahmo Samaj has now become. The question is difficult to answer. But from the little study and thought that we have been able to devote to the subject, it seems to us that at the time when he established the Brahmo Samaj, he meant it to be simply a meeting-ground for people of all sects who wished to unite for divine worship, "a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever." Art and philosophy, though each is essentially one all the world over, have yet found various though fitting garb among different peoples according to racial, climatic and other causes. It seems to us, that similarly, the Raja may have thought that Theism, though at bottom one all over the world, has yet found various expression among different races ; and though abstract truth is thinkable, yet as it finds actual manifestation in some concrete shape, it is the part of wisdom to allow the abstract universal theism in all countries and among all races to keep its native shape and colour, in which it is embodied, freed, of course, from all that is base and impure, with

a broad spirit of toleration for other shapes and colours : or in other words, he may have believed that Theism is one, and Hindu Theism, Semitic Theism, &c., are different forms of the same universal faith ; and that the future unity of the human race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure Theism, but in every thing else keeping all that is racy of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others.

Professor Monier Williams speaks of him as the first really earnest investigator in the science of comparative theology, which the world has produced.

Social customs and practices have been and are in all countries more or less connected with the religious beliefs of the people. It is, therefore, only natural that Rammohun Roy's programme of religious reform should lead on to and embrace social reform. In all countries, and specially in India, social reform consists chiefly in doing away with the disabilities or sufferings incident to difference of sex or the accident of birth. Or, in other words, social reformers have chiefly to fight with the spirit of caste and its evils and the subjection of women to the selfish interests and pleasures or supposed interests of the male sex. Rammohun Roy's chief claim to the gratitude of Hindu womanhood is the courageous and devoted part that he played in the movement for the abolition of *suttee*. He may or may not have been the central figure in that movement, but it must be admitted by all that but for his exertions that inhuman custom would not have been put down by law so soon as it was.

But to prevent the murder of widows was only to create another problem, namely, the amelioration of their condition. It is even now a question as to how we can best better their lot. Many solutions of the problem have been proposed and attempted ; their re-marriage, giving them such training as to enable them to lead honourable, useful and independent lives, so changing the Hindu law of inheritance as to make the means of living of Hindu widows less precarious, &c. His "Brief remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females, according to the Hindu Law of inheritance," was intended to attain the last object. That the condition of helpless widows deeply touched his heart appears also from No. VI. of the *Sambad Kaumudi*, which contained "an appeal to the rich Hindus of Calcutta to constitute a society for the relief of destitute widows, upon the principles of the Civil and Military Widows' Fund, established by order of Government." That he was earnestly in favour of

the education of women is quite clear from many passages in his writings, such, for instance, as the following : -

As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient, but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Lalavati, Bhamavati, the wife of the prince of Kurnil and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the sastra. Moreover in the Vridhadaranyak-Opamshaat of the Yajur Veda it is clearly stated that Yajnavalkya imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Maitreyi who was able to follow and completely attain it!'

It is true that even with his unbounded enthusiasm in woman's cause and his indefatigable energy he could not take any steps for educating girls, widowed or unmarried; but it may be safely said that had he lived to return home from England and work here for a few years more, his contact with the comparatively enlightened womanhood of the West would certainly have borne fruit in the establishment of educational institutions for Indian girls and women. That Miss Mary Carpenter came out to India to labour for the good of Indian women is due mainly to her contact with the Raja. Regarding the re-marriage of child-widows, it is believed by some that he published a book advocating its introduction but no such production has been discovered among his works. His biographer, Babu Nagendra-nath Chatterji, says, "We have heard that Rammohun Roy used to express a desire to his friends that the re-marriage of child-widows should become prevalent. When he went to England, a rumour spread everywhere that on coming back home he would introduce the custom of the re-marriage of widows."

It will appear from a study of his "Brief remarks regarding the ancient rights of females" that he was opposed to polygamy, kulinism and the practical selling of girls in marriage. He showed from the Shastras that second marriages were authorised only under certain circumstances, and observed :

If a Magistrate or other public officer been authorized by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal and the number of succubae would have been necessarily very much reduced."

We have no indication in his works of his views on child-marriage. Perhaps in his days in Bengal, though such marriages must have been customary, their consummation was postponed to a maturer age, thus minimizing the evil to some extent, as is still the case in some provinces of India. But with regard to this item, too, of the social reform programme, one can only speculate as to what he would have

done had he lived to come back from England. For, a man, who had such innate chivalry in his nature that he would never take his seat if any woman of what rank so ever remained standing in his presence, could not have failed to observe the evil effects on women of such a custom, at any rate after coming in contact with the comparatively free and healthy womanhood of the West.

That Rammohun Roy had not failed to observe the evil effects of caste will appear from the extract from one of his letters printed on page 929 of this edition. No. VIII of his *Sambad Kaumudi*, too, prints the plea of a philanthropist [probably himself], who observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate "such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence." By crossing the ocean and in other ways, the Raja, to a great extent, broke through the unreasonable and injurious restrictions imposed by caste. Why he did not or could not do so entirely, is not known to a certainty. But from his conduct in other matters, we should hesitate to ascribe to him any motives of cowardice or self-interest. He published with a Bengali translation the first chapter of a Sanskrit work against caste, named *Bajrasuchi*, by Mrityunjayacharya.

In most things Raja Rammohun Roy was in advance of his age, and rose above the influence of his surroundings. He was the pioneer in many reform movements. But in the matter of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, his views and practice differed from those of most reformers of the present day. He was a moderate drinker and even quoted some Shastras in favour of the practice. There is also another matter in which he was not in advance of his age. In his "Brief remarks regarding the ancient rights of females," he says that of the three modes of conduct left to the widows of a polygamous man to pursue, the second is "to walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence." And this he, of course, condemns, and thereby shows himself to be, as we otherwise also know him to have been, an advocate of social purity. Yet it would appear that he found nothing objectionable in entertaining his guests with the naught and music of dancing girls in his residence. For we find in Fanny Parkes' "Wanderings of a Pilgrim," Vol. I, Chap. IV (Residence in Calcutta, May 1823), the following passage :--

The other evening we went to a party given by Rammohun Roy, a rich Bengali *baboo*—the grounds, which are extensive, were well illuminated, and excellent fire-works displayed. In various rooms of the house *nach* girls were dancing and singing."

It is well known that Rammohun Roy himself founded and helped others in founding schools. He took a prominent part in the great educational controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists"

and sided with the latter. But for his opposition the clamour of the former for the exclusive pursuit of Oriental studies would most probably have prevailed. His *Letter on English Education to Lord Amherst* is a remarkably convincing production.*

"It was owing, perhaps, to this agitation," remarks Babu Jogen-dra Chunder Ghose on this letter, "that the foundation-stone of the building intended for the Sanskrit College was laid in the name of the Hindu College (February, 1824), and the Hindu College was, located there together with the Sanskrit College." For the direct and indirect beneficial results of Western education we are indebted to Raja Rammohun Roy as much as to Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, David Hare, &c.

Rammohun Roy wrote text-books in Bengali on Grammar, Geography, Astronomy and Geometry. He is the father of modern Bengali

* One passage in this letter possesses a special interest of its own. It runs thus:

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta, on what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relations does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe, that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, &c., have no actual entity they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better."

The missionaries advanced in the *Samachar Darpan*, the last objection which Rammohun assailed in his *Brahmical Magazine*. He further established a Vedanta College. This seeming inconsistency is explained by Miss Collett as follows. "The teachings of the Vedanta lend themselves to a remarkable diversity of theological interpretation. They are appealed to equally by dualistic and non-dualistic schools of thought. They contain passages which breathe a lofty and ethical Theism, in other places they seem to countenance a Pantheism that is simply Acosmism - the denial of all finite existence. According as the Vedanta is taught with or without a proper selective adjustment of its widely various contents, its value as a subject of instruction may be set high or low. In the ordinary Hindu schools it was taught in false perspective, with a discrimination exercised if at all in favour of what was trivial, incorrect, polytheistic. Rammohun therefore opposed with all his might the suggestion that the British Government should perpetuate or encourage this kind of Vedantic instruction. At the same time he saw in the Vedanta rightly handled and 'rightly divided' a means for leading his countrymen out of their prevailing superstition and idolatry into a pure and elevated Theism. Their devotion to the Vedantic scriptures was the lever by which Rammohun hoped to lift them into a simpler and nobler faith. Therefore he founded the Vedanta College, and therefore also he controverted the missionaries' wholesale disparagement of the Vedanta. If the missionaries had succeeded in discrediting the Vedanta, they would in Rammohun's eyes have broken down the bridge which enabled men to pass from Hindu Polytheism to Hindu Theism. He thus combated both the conservative Christian who advocated indiscriminate rejection and the conservative Hindu who advocated the indiscriminate retention of Vedantic teaching, and he provided for a discriminating instruction in the ancient system which should have the approval of liberal Hindus and liberal Christians."

literary prose. He taught his people the use of marks of punctuation. There was in his nature a deep vein of genuine poetry, too, as his Bengali hymns show. He was the first to write theistic hymns in Bengali. Pandit Ramagati Nyayaratna, a well-known Hindu historian of the Bengali language and literature, truly observes that "they appear to possess the power of melting even stony hearts, of making the most irreligious devoted to God and of making hearts sunk in worldliness detached from the world." They are prized by theists and idolaters alike. A few of them are in Sanskrit. We believe an English translation of Rammohun's hymns by Babu Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M. A., has been published by the Adi Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta.

His Bengali journal, the *Sambad Kaumudi*, first appeared in 1821. He is the founder of native journalism in India. The *Sambad Kaumudi* was not exclusively or chiefly a political publication. It, as well as his Persian newspaper, *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* or *Mirror of Intelligence*, had an educational purpose, too. Besides polities, subjects of a historical, literary and scientific character were treated of therein.

Lawyers of eminence have declared that the legal writings of the Raja, such as his "Brief Remarks on Ancient Female Rights," "The Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal," would do credit to jurists of the highest standing.

To the public Rammohun Roy is best known as a religious and social reformer. To many he is also known as a literateur and educationist. But he is not so well known as a political reformer and agitator. A brief account of his polities may not therefore be out of place here.

Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary, whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to his love of liberty : -

"He would be free or not be at all . . . Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought . . . This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It was this love of liberty that was the source of all his political opinions and the mainspring of all his political activity. It made him take interest in and deeply sympathise with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom. Some instances may here be given of Rammohun's cosmopolitan sympathies in the region of polities.

"When the intelligence reached India that the people of Naples after extorting a constitution from their despotic king were crushed back into servitude by the Austrian troops, in obedience to the joint mandate of the crowned heads of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, and Naples, Rammohun felt it keenly."

In a letter to Mr. Buckingham, dated August 11, 1821, he wrote :—

" I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening, more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe . . From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy

" Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours . Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful "

" Those noble words," says Miss Collett, " reveal how profoundly Rammohun felt with the late Russel Lowell that " In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim " ; and that

" Wherever wrong is done
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding Sun,
That wrong is also done to us "

Rammohun's Persian weekly *Mirat-al-Akhbar* contained an article on " Ireland, the causes of its distress and discontent ". In this he dwelt on the evils of absenteeism and the injustice of maintaining Protestant clergymen out of revenues wrung from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. He said :—

How admirable is the observation of Saadi (on whom be mercy !)

" Do not say that these rapacious ministers are the well-wishers of his Majesty ;
For in proportion as they augment the revenue of the State, they diminish his
popularity .
O statesman, apply the revenue of the king towards the comfort of the people ;
then during their lives they will be loyal to him "

When the news of the establishment of constitutional Government in Spain reached India, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall. Some months before his departure for England, news reached Calcutta of the latest French Revolution, and, " so great was his enthusiasm that," we are told, " he could think and talk of nothing else !" He viewed it as a triumph of liberty and rejoiced accordingly. On his voyage to England he landed at the Cape for only an hour or two. " Returning on board he met with a nasty accident. The gangway ladder had not been properly secured, and he got a serious fall, from which he was lame for eighteen months afterwards and indeed never finally recovered. But no bodily suffering could repress his mental ardour. Two French frigates, under the revolutionary flag, the glorious tri-colour, were lying in Table Bay ; and lame as he was, he would insist on visiting them. The sight of these colours seemed to kindle his enthusiasm, and to render him insensible to pain ." During the days of the Reform Bill agitation in England, he

considered the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers as a struggle between liberty and oppression throughout the world - between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. He publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, he would renounce his connection with England. His Persian weekly, the *Mirat*, did not, however, favourably consider the national aspirations of Greece. Muhammadan sympathy with the Turks may have been to some extent responsible for this attitude to Greece.

We now pass on to the Raja's Indian political opinions. Our polities are sure to be tinged by our attitude towards British rule in India. It is therefore necessary to know what the Raja thought of British rule in India in his day. In his autobiography he writes :

... I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindoostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British Power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour ; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants. "

He concluded his "Final Appeal to the Christian Public"

"by offering up thanks to the supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the government of the English,—a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."

But Rammohun gave to Muhammadan rule also its due meed of praise by mentioning in what respects it was superior to British rule. He wrote in his "Appeal to the King in Council" against the Press Regulation : -

" You Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the State, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British Rule, the natives of India, have entirely lost this political consequence.... ", &c.

Some of the contents of the earlier numbers of the *Sambad Kaumudi* may be given here :

No I --An appeal to the Government to the establishment of a school for the gratuitous instruction of the poor but respectable Hindus

No II. Humble address to the Government soliciting the extension of trial by jury to Mofussil, Zilla and Provincial Courts of Judicature

No III --An appeal to the Government to relieve the Hindu community from the inconvenience consequent upon there being only one Ghaut for the burning of dead bodies whereas an immense space of ground has been granted for the burial of Christians

Appeal to Government for the prevention of the exportation of the greatest part of the produce of rice from Bengal to foreign ports

Appeal to Government to enable the middle class of native subjects to avail themselves of the treatment of European physicians

Appeal to the Calcutta Magistrates to resort to rigorous measures for relieving the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta from the serious grievance of Christian gentlemen driving their buggies amongst them and cutting and lashing them with whips without distinction of sex or age while they quietly assembled in immense numbers to see the images of their deities pass in the Chitpore Road, when many of them through terror and consternation caused by the lashing inflicted on the spectators fell down into drains, while others were trampled under foot by the crowd

Raja Rammohun Roy believed that a free Press is one of the best safeguards of liberty. This conviction found expression in his petitions against the Press Regulation (1) to the Supreme Court, and (2) to the King in Council. The Press ordinance prescribed that thenceforth no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary. The memorial submitted to the Supreme Court "may be regarded as the Areopagitica of Indian History. Alike in diction and in argument, it forms a noble landmark in the progress of English culture in the East."

This Memorial proving fruitless, Rammohun and his co-adjutors appealed to the King in council. Says Miss Collett :

"The appeal is one of the noblest pieces of English to which Rammohun put his hand. Its stately periods and not less stately thought recall the eloquence of the great orators of a century ago. In a language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British History."

This Memorial, too, proved unavailing. The Privy Council declined to comply with the petition.

A new Jury Act came into operation in the beginning of 1827. On August 18th, 1828, Rammohun wrote to Mr. J. Crawford and entrusted to him petitions against the Act for presentation to both Houses of

Parliament, signed by Hindus and Mohammedans. He thus concisely stated the grounds of grievance :—

" In his famous Jury Bill, Mr. Wynn, the late President of the Board of Control, has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of every one conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mohamedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either European or Native, while Christians, including Native converts, are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or Mussulman juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Mohammedans the honor of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow Hindus or Mussulmans. This is the sum total of Mr. Wynn's late Jury Bill, of which we bitterly complain."

Rammohun went on to suggest a possibility " which is by no means so remote now as when he wrote " :—

" Supposing that 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy."

" In common with those who seem partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Regulations passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that this people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge."

The letter quoted above is remarkable for the far-sighted glance into the future which it reveals. Here in germ is to be found the national aspiration which is now breaking forth into demands for a greater measure of self-government than the people at present enjoy. Rammohun's English biographer observes that

" The prospect of an educated India, of an India approximating to European standards of culture, seems to have never been long absent from Rammohun's mind, and he did, however vaguely, claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilization inevitably involves. Here again Rammohun stands forth as the tribune and prophet of New India."

The Select Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed in February, 1831, and reappointed in June to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter invited him to appear before it.

Rammohun declined this request but tendered his evidence in the form of successive "Communications to the Board of Control." The first of these dealt with Revenue. The Raja appears here as the champion of the rack-rented ryot. While the Zemindars or land-holders had been greatly benefited by the Permanent Settlement of 1793, while their wealth and the wealth of the community had generally increased, the poor cultivator was no better off. The remedy he asked for was in the first place the prohibition of any further rise in rent, and secondly rents being now so exorbitantly high as to leave the ryot in a state of extreme misery, - a reduction in the revenue demanded from the Zemindar so as to ensure a reduction in the ryot's rent. The decrease in revenue he would meet by increasing taxes upon luxuries or by employing as Collectors low-salaried Indians instead of high-salaried Europeans. It may here be incidentally observed that nearly three-quarters of a century ago, when education was in a backward condition, Raja Rammohun Roy considered Indians fit for the duties of Collectors. He also considered them well qualified to discharge all judicial duties.

He approved of the settlement in India of a few model landlords from England, but was careful to stipulate that they should not be drawn from the lower classes. This is not the place to criticize the Raja's views on this subject; but it seems open to grave doubt whether a European landed aristocracy for India would have been on the whole beneficial to the people of this country. He concluded with an earnest appeal "to any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India."

It admits of no doubt that the condition of the proprietors of land has improved under the system of permanent assessment. But the Government seems at present to believe that that system has resulted in loss of revenue to the State. It is therefore, important to quote the Raja's opinion on this subject.

"The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of these provinces at the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohamedan or British. Therefore the Government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*Zemindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands, while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now. However, if the Government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then, by allowing the landholders only ten per cent on the rents (*Malikanah*), and securing all the rest to the Government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landlords in the country would then have been reduced to the same wretched condition

as they are at present in the ceded and conquered Provinces of the Bengal Presidency or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory ; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to Government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shown by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept *khas*, i.e., under the immediate management of Government."

" Besides, Government appropriates to itself an enormous duty on the transit and exportation of the produce of the soil, which has, since the period of the Perpetual Settlement, increased to a great amount from the exertions of the proprietors in extending and improving cultivation, under the assurance that no demand of an increase of revenue would be made upon them on account of the progressive productiveness of their estates."

The Raja contrasts the effects of the permanent and periodical systems of assessment in two statements.

" By a comparative view of the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-93 to 1827-28, there was a total increase on the whole amount of the Revenue of above 100 per cent. (101.71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time ; . . . "

By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirty-five years (*i.e.*, from 1793 to 1828) there was an increase of only about 40 per cent. (40.15) on the total amount of the whole revenue. That the increase during the first 17 years was $43 \frac{13}{100}$ per cent ; that in the next 8 years the increase was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and that in the last 18 years there has been a *decrease* of 2.15 per cent."

In an appendix he urged the Imperial utility of the policy of fixing a maximum rent to be paid by each cultivator, "that their rents already raised to a ruinous extent, might not be subject to further increase." His advocacy of this policy is so statesmanlike that no apology is needed for quoting his views on the subject. To recognise the indefeasible rights of the ryots in the soil would make them loyal to the power that secured them and

" ready to rise in defence of it, as a militia or in any other shape that might be required ; so as to secure the British rule in a foreign and remote empire, alike from internal intrigue and from external aggression, without the necessity of keeping on foot an immense standing army at an enormous cost. This consideration is of great importance in respect to the natives of the upper and western provinces, who are distinguished by their superior bravery, and form the greater part of the British Indian army. If this race of men, who are by no means deficient in feelings of personal honor and regard for family respectability, were assured that their rights in the soil were indefeasible so long as the British power should endure, they would from gratitude and self-interest at all time be ready to devote their lives and property in its defence."

" The saving that might be effected by this liberal and generous policy, through the substituting of a militia force for a great part of the present standing army, would be much greater than any gain that could be realized by any system of increasing land

revenue that human ingenuity could devise. How applicable to this case is the following line of the Persian sage (Saadi) :—

*Ba rayat sulh kyun Wa'z jang i khasm ai man nishin
Zanki shahanshah i adil ra rayat lashkar ast.*

"Be on friendly terms with thy subjects, and rest easy about the warfare of thine enemies; for to an upright prince his people is an army."

While on the subject of Land Settlement we may say that in 1828, by Regulation III of that year, the revenue collector in each district was authorised to dispossess the holders of tax-free lands by his own authority, without reference to any judicial courts, if the collector should be of opinion, after such enquiry as might satisfy himself that the title of the proprietor was not valid. It was therein enacted that "such decision of the Collector shall have the force and effect of a decree"; also, that "it shall not be necessary for him to transmit his proceedings to the Board of Revenue," but "the party dispossessed might appeal," and by art. 3, whether an appeal be filed or not, "that it shall and may be lawful for the Collector immediately to carry into effect his decision by attaching and assessing the lands." This regulation produced great alarm and distrust amongst the natives of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, many of whom petitioned against the principle of one party, who lays claim to the land, dispossessing an actual possessor at his own discretion. This agitation was led, though unsuccessfully, by Rammohun Roy. Reg. III of 1828 is still in force.

Among the principal measures advocated in the Raja's *Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India* were the substitution of English for Persian as the official language of the courts of law; the appointment of native assessors in the civil courts; trial by jury, of which the Panchayet system was the indigenous parallel; separation of the offices of judge and revenue commissioners; separation of the offices of judge and magistrate; codification of the criminal law and also of the law of India; and consultation with the local magnates before enacting laws. The last reform proposed contains the germs of representative legislative bodies.

Students of Indian economics are familiar with the fact that every year nearly 45 crores of rupees of India's capital is drained off to foreign parts without any hope of return. This drain of wealth did not escape the eyes of Raja Rammohun Roy. In his "Revenue System of India" he says that as a large sum of money is now annually drawn from India by Europeans retiring from it with the fortunes realized there, a system which would encourage Europeans of capital to become permanent settlers with their families, would necessarily greatly improve the resources of the country. He pre-

pared several tables to prove this drain. The following two paragraphs are appended to these tables :—

" By the evidence of Messrs. Lloyd and Melville (the former the Accountant-General, and the latter the Auditor-General of the East India Company), recorded in the Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 23rd February, 1830, it appears that the proportion of the Indian revenues expended in England on the territorial account amounts, on an average, to £3,000,000 annually. It includes the expenses at the Board of Control and India House, pay, absentee allowances and pensions to Civil and Military officers in Europe for services in India, with interest of money realized there, &c., &c., besides £453,588 for territorial stores consigned to India

" In a letter of the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated the 20th of June, 1810, and quoted in the work "On Colonial Policy as applicable to the Government of India," by a very able servant of the company, holding a responsible situation in Bengal, the Directors state that " it is no extravagant assertion to advance, that the annual remittances to London on account of individuals, have been at the rate of nearly £2,000,000 per annum *for a series of years past*" (p. 70) From these and other authentic documents the author calculates the amount of capital, or "the aggregate of tribute, public and private, so withdrawn from India from 1765 to 1820, at £100,000,000" (p. 65.)

It has already been incidentally shown that Raja Rammohun Roy was in favour of the settlement in India of European capitalists under certain conditions. Among the advantages likely in his opinion to arise from such settlement was the improvement of the condition of the native inhabitants by European landlords showing them superior methods of cultivation. That this was not altogether a vain expectation appears from some observations in Mr. N. G. Mukerji's *Hand-book of Indian Agriculture*. Says Mr. Mukerji :

indeed, Indian agriculture has been actually vastly improved by our contact with the West European planters have been the means of introducing important innovations In the most out-of-the-way places of India we find European planters carrying on agricultural experiments and improvements imperceptibly and noiselessly."

This naturally leads one to a consideration of the Raja's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans*. It is a paper of rare personal and national importance. But as it raises problems of great magnitude, we refrain from dealing with it here. Suffice it to say that this his final literary deliverance holds up to the people of India the prospect of India having English as its *lingua franca*, India socially and in other respects westernized to some extent, India possibly independent and India the Enlightener of Asia.

Progressive political views imply confidence in the capacity of a people for continuous improvement. Raja Rammohun Roy believed that the people of India " have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people." He did not believe that Asiatics were naturally an inferior race. In the course of one of his numerous religious controversies "A Christian" having indulged in a tirade

about persons being "degraded by Asiatic effeminacy," the Raja reminded him that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay, even Jesus Christ himself, were Asiatics.

On a perusal of the foregoing pages it will be found that with the exception of the agitation that has been going on for sometime past for the industrial regeneration of the country, Rammohun Roy laid the foundation of all the principal modern movements for the elevation of our people. Probably, as India is mainly an agricultural country and as in his days the pressure on land had not become abnormal owing to the indigenous industries not having disappeared then to the extent to which they have now declined, the industrial problem did not then press for solution with the same urgency as now. Nevertheless we find that the bearing of the system of caste on industrial prosperity did not escape the keen eyes of Rammohun : as No. VIII of his *Sambad Kanumudi* printed the "plea of a philanthropist, who observing the misery caused by prejudices of caste, urges the Hindus not to debar themselves thereby from mechanical pursuits, but to cultivate such arts as would tend to their comfort, happiness and independence."

We conclude this introduction with the following estimate of his personality by his biographer, the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collett, who, though an English woman and a trinitarian Christian, seems on the whole to have understood the meaning of his life pretty accurately :—

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment."

"He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations, —he embodies its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sited ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent, even timid, disinclination towards revolt. But in the life of Rammohun we see what we hope yet to have shown us in the progress of India, that the secret of the whole movement is religious. Amid all his wanderings Rammohun was saved by his faith He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock ; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence, a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western culture, towards a civilization which is neither Western

(xxix)

nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virtue of his religion, which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained, as well as widened and impelled, was religion.

"Rammohun thus presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the New India of which he is the type and pioneer. He offers to the new democracy of the West a scarcely less valuable index of what our greatest Eastern dependency may yet become under the imperial sway of the British commonalty. There can be little doubt that, whatever future the destinies may have in store for India, that future will be largely shaped by the life and work of Rammohun Roy. And not the future of India alone. We stand on the eve of an unprecedented intermingling of East and West. The European and Asiatic streams of human development, which have often tinged each other before, are now approaching a confluence which bids fair to form the one ocean-river of the collective progress of mankind. In the presence of that greater Eastern question,-- with its infinite ramifications, industrial, political, moral and religious, the international problems of the passing hour, even the gravest of them, seem dwarfed into parochial pettiness. The nearing dawn of these unmeasured possibilities only throws into clearer prominence the figure of the man whose life-story we have told. He was, if not the prophetic type, at least the precursive hint, of the change that is to come."

SECTION II.

The Prophets.

IN introducing the Prophets, the Rev. Editor commences with Proverbs; saying, "If in this book Christ be represented under the character of wisdom, as divines have thought, and as seems implied in Christ's saying, Matt., xi. 19, 'But wisdom is justified of her 'children', and Luke, xi. 49, 'Therefore said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets,' fresh proof is here furnished to the eternal deity of the Son." He then quotes Prov., viii. 1, 22, 27, 30: "Doth not wisdom cry?—'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old—When he prepared the heavens, I was there.—I was by him, as one brought up * with him: I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him.' " It is, indeed, astonishing to me how the strong prejudice of other learned divines, as well as of the Editor, in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity, has prevented them from perceiving that the identification attempted to be thus deduced by them from those passages of the book of Proverbs, instead of proving the "eternal deity" of Jesus, or his self-existence, would go to destroy his distinct existence altogether; for Christians of all denominations agree that *wisdom, understanding*, and all other attributes of God, have been from eternity to eternity in the possession of the almighty power, without either or any of them having been endowed with a separate existence; and were we to attribute to each of the properties of God self-existence, we must necessarily admit that there are besides God numerous beings, (his attributes,) which possess, like God himself, eternal existence—a doctrine which would amount to gross Polytheism. But the expression, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way," (ver. 22, quoted by the Editor,) proves that the wisdom there alluded to was considered as *in possession* of Jehovah, just as his other attributes are. If Jesus, then, be meant here by wisdom, he must, so far from being esteemed as Jehovah himself, be supposed to have been *possessed by Jehovah* as an attribute. If this doctrine be admitted as orthodox, how then are the primitive Christians to be justified in condemning Sabellius on account of

* **רָכַב** in the original Hebrew does not signify "brought up" It means "steaded," stabled, or established as qualities with substances. See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon

his maintaining the same doctrine? We find that, consistently with the same prophetical language, the inspired writer of Proverbs directs us to call wisdom *a sister*, and understanding *kinswoman*, (vi. 4,) instead of bestowing on her such epithets as, Jehovah, the everlasting God, that are insisted upon by the Editor as properly applied to Jesus. In fact, the book of Proverbs meant only to urge, in the usual poetical style of expression, the necessity of adhering to wisdom, both in religious and social life, strengthening the exhortation by pointing out that all the works of God are founded upon wisdom. If such poetical personifications as are found in the Prophets, as well as in profane Asiatic works in common circulation, were to be noticed, a separate voluminous work would, I am afraid, fail to contain them. And if the abstract attributes of God, such as wisdom, mercy, truth, benevolence, &c., are to be esteemed as separate deities, on account of their being sometimes personified, and declared eternal and associating with God, this mode of literal interpretation would, I admit, be so far advantageous to the cause of the Editor as respects the refutation of the doctrine of the unity of God, but would not be precisely favourable to the doctrine of the Trinity, as it would certainly extend the number of personified deities much beyond three. Take, for example, the following passages, which personify the attributes of God, and ascribe to them eternity, and association with God. Psalm, cxviii. 7. "With the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption" lxxxv. 10. "Mercy and truth are *met* together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Numbers, xvi. 46. "There is wrath gone out from the Lord." Here we have mercy, redemption, truth, and wrath, all spoken of as separate existences. Are we, therefore, to consider them as persons of the Godhead? As abstract qualities are often represented in the Scriptures, and in Asiatic writings generally, as persons and agents, to render ideas familiar to the understanding, so real existences are intended sometimes under the appellation of abstract qualities, for the sake of analogy of expression. In 1 John i. 1, God is declared to be mere *Love*. John, i. 1, Jesus is called word, or revelation. 1 Cor., i. 24, 30, Christ is represented as power and wisdom, &c. 2 Cor., v. 21, true Christians are declared to be wisdom in Christ; and Israel is said to be an *astonishment* in Deut., xxviii. 37, and *curse* in Zech., viii. 13; Abraham to be *blessing* in Gen., xii. 2, and Jehovah is declared to be *glory* in Zech., n. 5. But every unprejudiced mind is convinced

that these allegorical terms neither can alter the fact, nor can they change the nature of the unity of God, and of the dependence of his attributes.

After this no further remark seems necessary on the passages quoted by the Editor, from Matthew and Luke, where, as in many other passages in which the word Wisdom is to be found, the sense neither requires, nor even admits, of our understanding Jesus to be meant under that appellation.

The Editor quotes Isaiah vi. 1, 10, relating to the Prophet's vision of God; he then comments, "As this glorious vision, wherein the Prophet received his commission, represented either the Father or the Son, we might have expected that it should be the Son, who had undertaken to redeem men." The Editor afterwards quotes John xii. 41, "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory and spoke of him," and considers these words as decisive testimony of the opinion, that it was the Son who was seen by the Prophet in the vision.

Let us first impartially refer to the context of verse 41 of John. We find in the verse a personal pronoun used three times. The first, "he," in the phrase "when he saw," though understood in the Greek verb *εἶδε*; the second, "his," connected with the words "glory;" and the third, "of him," after the verb "spoke;" thus—"when *he* saw *his* glory and spoke *of him*." The first pronoun, "he," of course refers to Isaiah, mentioned just before it. The second and the third, "his" and "of him," can have no reference to Isaiah, for the words "when Isaiah's glory, and spoke of Isaiah," could bear no sense whatever. These two last pronouns must, therefore, have reference to some pronoun or noun to be found in the immediately preceding part of the passage. We accordingly find, from the preceding verse, 40, that these pronouns refer to Jehovah, the God of hosts, mentioned twice in verse 38, whose glory Isaiah saw, and in whose behalf he spoke, without mention of the Son being once made between verses 38 and 41. The passage thus stands, (ver 38,) He (Isaiah) spoke, "Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord, been revealed?" 39, "Therefore they could not believe, because that Isaiah said again," 40, "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart;" 41, "These things, said Isaiah, when he saw *his* glory, and spoke *of him*." Isaiah must have then seen the glory of him in whose behalf he spoke; a fact which neither party can dispute; and as it is evident from the preceding verse, 40, and from Isaiah vi. 10, that he spoke of God, who *blinded*

the *eyes* of the Jews and *hardened* their hearts, it necessarily follows, that he saw the glory of that very being spoken of by Isaiah. For further illustration of God's being often declared to have blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, I quote Rom. xi. 7, 8: "What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were *blinded*. (According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; *eyes* that they should *not see* and *ears* that they should not *hear*,) unto this day." Isaiah, lxin. 17: "O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, *and hardened* our heart from thy fear? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribe of thy inheritance." From verse 38 to 41, as already observed, there is not a single noun or a pronoun that can have allusion to Jesus. But we find, in verse 42, the pronoun "him," implying the Son as absolutely required by the sense, in reference to verse 37, and in consistence with verse 44, in which the name of Jesus is found mentioned. As all the Pharisees believed in God, as well as in Isaiah, one of their prophets, the text could convey no meaning, if the phrase "Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed in him" were admitted to bear reference either to God or Isaiah.

If it be insisted upon, in defiance of all the foregoing explanation, that the two last-mentioned pronouns, in verse 41, "When he saw his glory and spake of him" are applied to Jesus, the passage in the evangelist would be, in that case, more correctly explained by referring to John, viii. 56, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day," which cannot be understood of ocular vision, but prophetic anticipation; whereas the glory seen in the vision of Isaiah was that of God himself in the delivery of the command given to the prophet on that occasion, as I observed in the Second Appeal (p. 244.) With a view to invalidate this interpretation, the Editor inquires, (p. 569,) "what has Abraham's day to do with Isaiah's vision?" In answer to which I must allow, that Abraham's day had nothing to do with Isaiah's vision, except that as Abraham saw the day of Christ (properly speaking, the reign of Christ,) by prophetic anticipation, and not through ocular vision, (John. viii. 56,) so Isaiah, as another prophet of God, must have seen the glory of Christ (if he had seen it at all) through the same prophetic anticipation, and must have spoken of Christ's commission (if he had spoken of him at all) through the same prophetic power: the reference, therefore, is one which goes to prove, that whenever the prophets, such as Abraham, Isaiah, or

any other prophets, are declared to have seen or spoken of future events, they must have seen or spoken of them through the prophetic power vested in them by God. I never attempted to prove, that the words "day," and "glory" are synonymous, nor did I declare that Isaiah saw the day of Christ, that the Editor should have occasion to advance that "it is not the day of Christ which the Evangelist describes Isaiah as having seen, but his glory." However, I cannot help being of opinion, that in such phrases, on particular occasions, as "He saw the day of the king Messiah," or "He saw the glory of the king Messiah," the words "day" and "glory" amount almost to the same thing. My limited understanding cannot, like the Editor's, discover how "Isaiah fixes the time when he thus saw Christ's glory, even when it was said, 'he hath blinded their eyes,' " &c., for I find the Jews were from time to time charged, by several of the prophets, with disobedience, and with having been blinded and hardened. Deut. xxviii. 28 : "The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart." xxix. 4 : "The Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and *eyes to see*, and ears to hear, unto this day." 1 Kings, xviii. 37 : "Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their heart back again." Isaiah, lxiii. 17, as noticed before.

The Editor refers to the prophet Isaiah, (pp. 533, 570,) saying, that Isaiah, in ch. vii. "predicting the birth of Christ, identifies his divine and his human nature, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.' This passage the Holy Spirit applies to Christ in Matt., i. 22, 23," He regrets my applying the above verse to Hezekiah, in an immediate sense, though totally unable to reject the proof of such application, deduced by me, in my Second Appeal, from its context, and from the sacred history. He rests his rejection entirely upon the phrase, "A virgin shall conceive," found in the English version, as being used in the future tense, on the ground that "Hezekiah could not have been the child at the time about to be conceived by the virgin, for this plain reason, that God never foretells past things. The birth of Hezekiah was not then a thing to come; for, he was at least six years old when this prophecy was spoken — This our author will see by merely comparing the fact, that Ahaz reigned sixteen years, and Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and twenty years old. Hezekiah must then have been six, if not seven years old when this prophecy

was delivered" The editor, then, charges me with having expended in vain, 12 pages on this, as well as on the passage in ch. ix. of Isaiah. Here we find again a new instance, in which a diligent study of the Bible, for thirty or forty years, but accompanied with early religious prejudices, has not been able to save the student from making such an error as to take the term **תְּדַבֵּר** "pregnant," in the original verse, in Hebrew, as meaning absolutely, "shall conceive," and to declare, unthinkingly, that "Hezekiah could not have been the child at the time to be conceived." How will the Editor render the same term **תְּדַבֵּר** found in Gen. xvi. 11, "Thou hast conceived, or art with child"? Will he, on his adopted principle, interpret it, "Thou shalt conceive"? He must, in that case, overlook verses 4th and 5th of the same chapter, which testify Hagar's having already conceived before the angel of the Lord had seen and spoken to her, in verse the 11th. "He went in unto Hagar, and she conceived; and when she saw she had conceived, &c. (4) And Sarah said unto Abraham, 'My wrong be upon thee. I have given my maid unto thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived,' &c. (5) Did not the Editor ever reflect upon Jer. xxxi. 7, containing the same terms **תְּדַבֵּר** or "pregnant" and **וַיַּחַזֵּר** or "bearing" as are found in Isaiah viii. 14? a passage which might have suggested to the Editor the propriety of not making so positive an assertion, that "Hezekiah" could not have been the child at the time to be conceived. Did the Editor entirely overlook the same term **תְּדַבֵּר** signifying "pregnant," in 2 Sam., vi. 5, and Isaiah xxvi. 17, Gen. xxxviii. 24, 25, Exod., xvi. 22, 2 Kings, viii. 12, Amos, i. 13? The fact is, that we find in the original Hebrew **הַצְלָמָה** signifying "the virgin," which, if not referred to a particular person before-mentioned, implies, in the figurative language of the Scripture, either a city or the people of a city, as I noticed in pages 229, 230, and 238, of my Second Appeal; and also we find **תְּדַבֵּר** synonymous with the participle "conceived," instead of "shall conceive." The verse, therefore thus runs: "Behold, the virgin (the city of Jerusalem, or the nation) is pregnant and shall bring a son and shall call his name Immanuel" (14) "For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the

1. In the 15th year of the reign of Pekah, the king of Israel, Ahaz was born, and twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign in Jerusalem, and he reigned sixteen years. 2 Kings xvi. 1, 2. Hence it appears that he lived thirty-six years only, and as Pekah began to reign after the death of his father Ahaz, when he was twenty and five years old, (2 Kings xviii. 2,) he must have been born when his father Ahaz was ten, or at most eleven years of age, which was rather contrary to the common course of nature.

good, the land that thou (Ahaz) abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings," (16,) i. e. Rezin, the king of Syria, and Pekah, the king of Israel, who, at that time had besieged Jerusalem, as is evident from the preceding verses; and such personifying phrases as "oppressed virgin," and "bring forth children," are found also applied to the city, or the people of the city, in the prophets, in other instances similar to that of Isaiah vii. 14, in question. Micah iv. 10: "Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail." Isaiah xxiii. 12: "And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zion." But unless orthodox authors changed "the virgin" into "a virgin," and "conceived" into "shall conceive," they could not apply the verse in a direct sense to Mary, the mother of Christ, and to Christ himself; and consequently, to suit their convenience, they have entirely disregarded the original scripture, the context, and the historical facts.

In noticing my explanation of the **הַבָּתִים** * "the virgin," in the Second Appeal, the Reverend Editor states, that "it is true, **ה**, the emphatic of Hebrew, is generally rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek article: that they are by no means equivalent in value, however, he may convince himself by referring to that excellent work on the Greek article for which the learned world is indebted to Dr. Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta." I am really sorry to observe that the Editor should have given such an evasive answer to so important a point; he however, was obliged to do so, knowing that **ה** in Hebrew, before a noun, as **ج** in Arabic, is invariably a definite article. In his attempt to remove the inconsistency between his maintaining the idea of the deity of Jesus and applying to him verses 15 and 16 in Isaiah vii, by which he is declared subject to total ignorance, the Reverend Editor attributes (p. 534) such ignorance to the human nature of Jesus, forgetting what he, in common with other orthodox Christians, offers as an explanation of such passages as declare all power in heaven and earth to have been given to Jesus by the Father of the universe, which is, that all power was given him in his human capacity, while in his divine capacity he enjoys independent omnipotence. Is not the power of distinguishing good from evil included in all power given to Jesus, according to the Editor,

* In Isaiah vii. 2, the city, or the people of the city, is one called "a captive daughter," in ch. xv. 1, it is once styled "barren" **תִּדְבַּר**; "a harlot" in Ezek. xvi. 35, and in other instances.

in his *human* capacity? How then, can the Editor be justified in maintaining the idea that, in his human nature, he though possessed of all power in heaven and earth, was unable, before the age of maturity, to distinguish the good from the evil, as found in verses 15 and 16? I beg also the attention of the Editor to Luke ii. 46—50, shewing that Jesus was possessed of knowledge of his divine commission even in his early youth, and also to the Editor's own declaration, (page 536,) "The spirit of the Lord was to rest upon him as the spirit of wisdom and understanding." Nothing but early prejudice can persuade a man to believe that *one* being at *one* time should be both subject to total ignorance and possessed of omniscience—two diametrically opposite qualities.

Let us now refer to the context of the verse in question. The first verse of the same chapter speaks of the king of Syria and the king of Israel having besieged Jerusalem; verses 3 and 4, of the Lord's having sent Isaiah the prophet to Ahaz the king of Jerusalem to offer him consolation and confidence against the attacks of these two kings; 5 and 6 of the two kings having taken evil counsel against Ahaz and of their determination to set the son of Tabeal on his throne; 8 and 9 foretell the total fall of Ephraim (the ten tribes of Israelites who separated from Judah which comprised the two remaining tribes) and of Samaria within three score and five years; 10 and 11 mention the Lord's offering to Ahaz a sign, which he (verses 12 and 13) declined; 14, 15 and 16 contain the Lord's promise to give spontaneously a sign of the destruction of Ahaz's enemies in the person of the son borne by the virgin of Jerusalem; the delivery of Judah from these two kings before the child should become of age; 17 and following verses, foretell what was to happen in Judah, bringing the king of Assyria in opposition to the kings of Syria and of Israel, who were then inimical to the house of David. The first four verses, of chap. viii speak of the birth of a son to Isaiah, the prophet, and of the degradations by the Assyrians on the land of Damascus, the capital of Syria, and on the land of Samaria, the head of Ephraim, before that son should have knowledge to cry, "My father and my mother." Hence it is evident that the child mentioned in chap. vii. verso 14, called Immanuel, was much older than the child mentioned, ch. viii. 3; for the attacks upon Syria and Israel by the Assyrians took place only before the former became of age to know right from wrong, but while the latter was still unable to pronounce a single word.

Verse 6, speaks of the army of Rezin, and of the son of Remahiah, the kings of Syria and Israel, having refused the soft waters of Shiloah, a river in Judah, figuratively meaning peace; 7 and 8, of the Lord's declaring that he would bring into the land of Immanuel, upon these invaders, the strong waters of the river, that is, the armies of the king of Assyria; 9 and 10, of the combination of the people against the king of Judah, which turned to their own destruction, for the sake of Immanuel. It is worth noticing, that the last word in verse 10, is translated in the English version, "God is with us," instead of leaving it, as it is in the original Hebrew, "Immanuel," though in two other instances, ch. vii. 14, and ch. viii. 8, the word "Immanuel" is left unchanged as it stands in the original. Verses 11-17, pronounce the Lord's displeasure at the disobedience of the tribes of Israel, advising them to fear the Lord, and not fear the confederacy of the kings of Syria and Israel. Verse 18 declares the Lord's having given the prophet and the children for signs and for wonders in Israel; and the remaining verses of this chapter speak of false prophets, of the miserable situation of the Israelites, a fact which is fully related in the book of 2 Kings, xvi. 5. "Then Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, son of Remahiah, king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem to war and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him." Verse 6. "At that time Rezin, king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day." Ver. 7. "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son. Come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me." Ver. 8. "And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria." Ver. 9. "And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him, for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."

It is now left to the public to reflect seriously on the above circumstances stated in the context and to pronounce whether thereby it appears that verse 14 is originally applied to Hezekiah, the son and

Shuloh, found in Gen. xlix. 10, implying a redeemer, differs in signification and also in spelling from the word "Shiloah" herein mentioned as signifying rivers, in Hebrew שִׁלּוֹחַ, in Isaiah viii. 6.

heir of Ahaz, king of Jerusalem, a child born before the defeat of his enemies, the Immanuel, whose land was Judah; or to Jesus of Nazareth, born at least 500 years afterwards: and also to decide whether or not the land which Ahaz abhorred, had been forsaken by the king of Syria and of Israel, from the interference of the king of Assyria, before Hezekiah came to years of discretion; or whether that event took place only after the birth of Jesus. As to the application of verse 4 to Jesus Christ, by St. Matthew, my language in the Second Appeal was, that "the evangelist Matthew referred in his Gospel to ch. vii. 14 of Isaiah, merely for the purpose of accommodation; the son of Ahaz and the Saviour resembling each other, in each being the means, at different periods, though in different senses, of establishing the throne of the house of David. In the same manner, the apostles referred to Hosea xi. 1, in ch. ii. 15 of his Gospel, and in many other instances." Nevertheless, the Rev. Editor charges me with having blasphemed against the word of God, by attempting to persuade him and others, in my explanation of the above verse, "that the evangelist Matthew ought not to be credited" I, indeed, never expected such an accusation from the Editor. To acquit myself of the charge, I entreat my readers to refer to the translation of the four Gospels by Dr. Campbell, a celebrated Trinitarian writer, in whose notes (page 9) that learned divine says, "Thus ch. ii. 15, a declaration from the prophet Hosea xi. 1, which God made in relation to the people of Israel, whom he had long before called from Egypt, is applied by the historian *allusively* to Jesus Christ, where all that is meant is, that with equal truth, or rather, with much greater energy of signification, God might now say, *I have recalled my son out of Egypt*. Indeed, the import of the Greek phrase, as commonly used by the sacred writers, is no more, as Le Clerc has justly observed, than that such words of any of the prophets may be applied with truth to such an event."

Did these orthodox writers also attempt to persuade people to discredit the evangelical writings by applying Hosea xi. 1, originally to Israel, and allusively to Jesus Christ? The Editor will not, I presume, get the sanction of the public to accuse those learned divines of blasphemy. I did no more than adopt their mode of expression in examining Isaiah vii. 14, compared with Matt. i. 22, 23, and Hosea xi. 1, with Matt. ii. 15; yet I am charged with blasphemy against the authority of the Gospel of Matthew. I must repeat the

very words I used in the Second Appeal, in comparing the book of Hosea with the Gospel, Matthew (p. 220), that the public may judge whether the language of the Editor, as to my attempt to discredit the Gospel, is just and liberal. "Thus Matt. ii. 15, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' the evangelist refers to Hosea xi. 1, which, though really applied to Israel, represented there as the son of God, is used by the apostle in reference to the Saviour, in consideration of a near resemblance between their circumstances in this instance:—both Israel and Jesus were carried into Egypt and recalled from thence, and both were denominated in the Scriptures the 'Son of God.' The passage of Hosea thus runs from ch. xi. 1—3: 'when Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. As they called them, so they went from them: they sacrificed unto Baalim, and burnt incense to graven images. I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them;—in which Israel, who is represented as a child of God, is declared to have sacrificed to Baalim, and to have burnt incense to graven images—circumstances which cannot justly be ascribed to the Saviour."

The Reverend Editor, likewise, in opposition to my explanation, applies Isaiah ix. 6 to Jesus: "For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace;" and all that he says (p. 534) in support of his referring this verse to the Deity of Jesus, is in these words: "To secure to Hezekiah that passage in ch. ix., our author gives us a translation or rather a paraphrase of it by Jonathan, in his Targum, to which we shall merely oppose that given by Bishop Louth" Can the interpretation of the Old Testament given by Jonathan and other celebrated Jewish writers, some of whom lived prior to the birth of Jesus, be discredited from the authority of one, or one thousand, Christian Bishops, to whom, at any rate, Hebrew is a foreign language? Can a Trinitarian, in arguing with one not belonging to the orthodox sect and establishment, quote with propriety, for the refutation of his adversary, the authority of a Trinitarian writer? The public may be the best judges of these points. As these Jewish writings are not un procurable, the public may refer to them for their own satisfaction. Is there any authority of the sacred writers of the New Testament, authorizing the Editor to apply Isaiah, ix. 6, even in

an accommodated sense, to Jesus? I believe nothing of the kind:—it is mere enthusiasm that has led a great many learned Trinitarians to apply this verse to Jesus. The Editor avoided noticing the context, and the historical circumstances which I adduced in my Appeal to prove the application of the verse in question to Hezekiah. It may be of use, however, to call his attention again to the subject. I, therefore, beg of him to observe those facts, and particularly the following instances. Ch. ix. 1, promises that Israel shall not suffer so severely from the second as from the former invasion of the king of Assyria, when he invaded Lebanon and Naphtali and Galilee beyond Jordan. So we find it mentioned in 2 King, xv. 29. "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, took Ijon, and Abel-Beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried Israel captive to Assyria." But in the reign of Hezekiah, so far from reducing Israel to captivity, the king of Assyria was compelled to return to his country with great loss, leaving Israel safe in their places (2 Kings, xix. 35, 36.) Verses 2 and 3 declare the joy which Israel were to feel at their delivery from the hands of their cruel invaders, and verse 4, at throwing off the yoke and rod of the oppressor. We find accordingly, in 2 Kings, xviii. 7, that Hezekiah rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not. Verse 5 foretells the destruction of the army of the invaders. So we find, 2 Kings, xix. 34, 35, that the angel of the Lord slew a great part of the army of the Assyrian invaders. Verses 6 and 7 speak of the illustrious son who was then to reign with justice and judgment. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 3—7, that Hezekiah during his reign did what was right in the sight of God, so that, after or before him, there was none like him among the kings of Judah; and that the Lord was with him wheresover he went. Verses 9 and 10 speak of the displeasure of the Lord at the pride and stoutness of heart of Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, the enemies of Hezekiah and his father. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 10, 11, that the people of Samaria were defeated and made prisoners by the Assyrians in the sixth year of Hezekiah. Verse 11, of the Lord's setting up the adversaries of Rezin, the king of Syria, against him. So we find in Isaiah, vii. that Rezin, the king of Syria, who, with Ephraim, besieged Jerusalem at the time the city had borne the child mentioned in ch. vii. 14, was defeated by his adversaries. Verses 12—20 describe the anger of God, as occasioned by the wickedness of Israel. Verse 21,

of Ephraim and Manasseh having joined together to invade ^{10. 14.} Ch. x. 1—6, denounce punishment to the wicked people of Judah by the hands of the Assyrians. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 13, that in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, the great king of Assyria came against Judah, and took all her fenced cities. Verses 8—14, of the boasting of the king of Assyria as to his power and conquests of many kingdoms, and his destruction of the gods of different nations, and of his contempt for the living God of the Jews in Jerusalem. So we find in 2 Kings, xviii. 33—35, and xix. 11—14, that the king of Assyria boasted of his great power, and of having subdued the gods of the nations; and that he despised Jehovah, the true, living God, even blaspheming him in a message to Hezekiah. Verses 12—26, promising to punish the king of Assyria, and to bring ruin upon him, for his high boastings, and for his contempt against the Lord. So we find in 2 Kings, xix. 21—34, that the Lord encouraged the virgin, the daughter of Zion, and the daughter of Jerusalem, to despise the king of Assyria, whom he had determined to punish for his disrespect; and promised safety to the inhabitants of Jerusalem on the prayer offered by Hezekiah. So also we find in 2 Kings, xix. 35, and 2 Chron., xxxii. 21, that the Lord sent his angel into the camp of the king of Assyria and slew his mighty men, leaders and captains. Verse 27 promises the king of Judah's liberation from the yoke of the king of Assyria. So we find, 2 Kings, xviii. 7, that Hezekiah rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not afterwards. It was not Hezekiah alone that, in the beginning of his reign, acknowledged dependence upon the king of Assyria, but his father Ahaz also confessed the superiority of the king of Assyria, and sued to him for protection against the kings of Syria and of Israel when Hezekiah was only a child. (2 Kings, xvi. 7 and 8.)

The public may now judge whether or not the above circumstances, and the contents of chapters vii and viii noticed in the preceding paragraphs, determine the application of verses 6 and 7 of Ch. ix. of Isaiah to Hezekiah, who "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord;" "removed high places;" "broke the images and cut down the groves;" "trusted in the Lord God of Israel;" "claved to the Lord, and departed not from him;" "with whom the Lord was;" who "prospered whithersoever he went;" and prior and subsequent to whose reign, "was none like him among all the kings of Judah." (2 Kings, xviii. 3—7.) And they may also decide

whether the delivery of Israel from the attack of the Assyrians, and the punishment inflicted upon the king of Assyria in the prescribed manner, took place in the reign of Hezekiah, or that of Jesus Christ. If my readers compare minutely Chapters vii.—x. and xxxix. of Isaiah with 2 Kings, xv., xvi., xviii., xix., and xx., they will, I trust, have a still clearer view of the subject.

In common with the son mentioned in Isaiah, ix. 6, who was called Hezekiah, “*God my strength*,” “*Immanuel*,” “*God with us*,” “*Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, the Father of the everlasting age, the Prince of Peace*” human beings, and even inanimate objects, were designated by the same terms, or similar epithets, as noticed in pp. 240, 242, 243, 275 and 276 of my Second Appeal without being held up as the most high Jehovah.

Moreover, the difference between “to be” and “to be called” is worth observing, as I noticed in the note at p. 275, Second Appeal, to which I beg to refer my readers. As to the phrases “no end,” “for ever,” or “everlasting,” found in Isaiah, ix. 6, 7, these, when applied to creatures, are always to be taken in a limited sense, the former signifying plenteousness, the latter, long duration, as I observed in note, p. 234 of the Second Appeal. *Vide Gen.*, xlix. 26; *Heb.*, iii. 6.

St. Matthew, in an accommodated sense, applies Isaiah, ix. 1, 2, to Jesus, whose spiritual reign delivered also the inhabitants of Zebulun, and the land of Naphtalim and Galilee, from the darkness of sin, in the same way as in Hezekiah’s reign their inhabitants were saved from the darkness of foreign invasion.

As the Editor and many orthodox Christians lay much stress on the application of the term Immanuel to Jesus, I offer the following observations. The sum total of their argument is derived from the following verse, Matt., i. 23: “And they shall call his name Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us.” This name is composed of three Hebrew words, “Emma” אֹמֶן with; “noo.” נָנוּ us; “el,” אֱלֹהִים God; that is, with us God, hence the advocates for the Trinity conclude that Jesus is here called God, and that he must therefore be God. But let us ascertain whether other beings are not, in common with Jesus, called by designations compounded with *el*, or God, in the sacred writings, or whether the term *el* is exclusively applied to Jehovah and Jesus, and then direct our attention to the above-stated conclusion. Gen., xxxii, 24: “And Jacob was left alone. and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day.”

Verse 30: "And he (Jacob) called the name of the place פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." Here the place is called the face of *el* (God,) and the angel who wrestled with and blessed Jacob, and whom he saw there, is styled *el* (God.) Verse 28: "And he (the angel) said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob; but *Israel*; for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." As Jacob in wrestling with the angel, shewed him his power and prevailed, he was called *Israel*, the prince of God, or, properly speaking, the prince of the angel; for it would be the grossest blasphemy to say that Jacob wrestled with the Almighty God, and prevailed over him. So we find in Gen. xlvi., 17, "Malchiel," that is, "my king God;" Dan., viii. 16, "Gabriel," "mighty God;" 1 Chron., xv. 18, "Jaaziel," "strong God;" verse 20, "Jehiel," "living God;" 1 Sam., viii. 2, "The name of his first-born was *Joel*," that is, "Jehovah God."

Moreover, the very term *Immanuel* is applied immediately in Isaiah, vii. 14, to the deliverer of Judah from the invasion of the king of Syria, and that of *Israel*, during the reign of Ahaz; but none esteemed him to be God, from the application of this term to him. Besides, by referring to Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, on the explanation of the word *el*, (or God,) we find "that Christian Emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries would suffer themselves to be addressed by the style of "your divinity," "your Godship." And also by referring to the Old Testament we find the term אֱלֹהִים *elohim*, or God, often applied to superiors. No one, therefore, can be justified in charging the apostle Matthew with inconsistency, on account of his having used, even in an accommodated sense, the phrase "Immanuel," for Jesus, appointed by God as the word of the Jews and Gentiles.

The Editor denies the truth of my assertion in the Second Appeal, (p. 241,) that David is also called the holy one of *Israel*, in Psalm lxxxix. and insists that Jehovah and the future Messiah only are styled the holy one. I therefore beg to refer my readers to the whole context of the Psalm in question, a few passages of which I here subjoin. (Ver. 19.) "Then thou spakest in vision to thy holy one, and saidst (ver. 20) I have found *David*, my servant; with my holy oil

* Ezekiel, xxxi. 11, אל גּוֹיִם "The mighty one of the Heathen" Exod, xv. 15: אלְדָם דָּאִתִּי "The mighty men of Moab." 1 Sam., xxviii. 13 אלְמִזְאָכָּב "I saw God," that is Samuel. Exod., xxii. 8 אל תַּהֲלִלְךָם "To the Gods," that is the Judges.

have I *anointed* him." (Ver. 26) "He shall *cry* unto me, thou art my Father, *MY GOD*, and the rock of *MY SALVATION*. (Ver. 27) Also I *will* make him my first-born." (Ver. 35) "Once I have sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto *DAVID*." (Ver. 38) "But thou hast cast off and *abhorred*, thou hast been *wrath* with *thine anointed* " (Ver. 39) "Thou hast made *void* the covenant of thy servant" (Ver. 44) "Thou hast made his glory to cease." (Ver. 45) "Thou hast covered him with *shame*." The public now may judge whether the above sentences are applicable to king David, or to Jesus, whose *glory* never *ceased*,—with whom God has never been *wrath*, and who cannot be supposed to have been covered with *shame*. Besides, it is evident from this passage, that the term "holy one" is applied to one constantly styled a servant.

The Editor inquires, (p. 570,) what instances I bring that these names, peculiar to God, such as Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, were applied to certain kings in Israel; I therefore beg to refer him to the passages mentioned in pp. 156 and 157 of the Second Appeal, in which he will find the same epithets given to human beings, and even to inanimate objects.

With a view to deduce the Deity of Jesus Christ from the comparison of Isaiah, xxviii. 16, with Isaiah, viii. 13, and with 1 Peter, ii. 8, the Rev. Editor thus comments (p. 570): "The declaration is, that Jehovah of hosts shall be for a stumbling stone, and for a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel: but after the delivery of his prophecy, was he this to them prior to the coming of Christ? As the house of Israel was carried away captive a few years after the delivery of this prophecy, if not a year or two before, it is doubtful whether they ever saw this prophecy while in their own land; but Christ has been a stone of stumbling and rock of offence to all of every tribe for nearly eighteen centuries, while he has been a sanctuary to all who trusted in him." I need not prolong the discussion by pointing out, that Isaiah delivered this prophecy in the reign of Ahaz; that the captivity of one of the houses of Israel took place in the reign of Hezekiah, his son, and that of the other house, in the reign of Zedekiah, the 9th king of Judah, from the time of Ahaz. As the Editor acknowledges the fact of the house of Israel being "carried away captive a few years after the delivery of this prophecy," he will undoubtedly be persuaded to confess also, the circumstance of their

distress and misery just before, as well as during the time of captivity, by an attentive reference to the sacred histories, 2 Kings and 2 Chron. The necessary consequence, then, will be, that he will clearly perceive that the above-stated prophecy of Isaiah had been duly fulfilled long before Christ's birth, the Lord of hosts having become for a stumbling-stone and for a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel, soon after the prophet's declaration ; and that 1 Peter, ii. 7, and 8, ("The stone which the builders disallowed, the same *is made* the head of the corner. And a stone of stumbling, and rock of offence, even to them who stumble at the word, being disobedient,") is but a general statement of the ill consequences attached to disobedience, whether on the part of Israel, or of the Gentiles, to the *word* delivered to them by Jesus in his divine commission. Jesus is here represented as a stone, rejected by men but chosen by God ; and, consequently, he must be a stumbling-stone to those who reject him, stumbling at his word. Common sense, if not biassed by early prejudice, is sufficient to decide, that a stone, which is chosen and made the head of the corner by a maker, must not be esteemed as the maker himself.

The Editor comments, however, on the phrase, "made the head of the corner," in verse 7, saying "As to his being made the head of the corner by his heavenly Father, this can no more affect his unchangeable Deity, than his being made flesh." This is as much as to say, that the circumstance of his being made the head of the corner is as *much* a proof of his changeable nature as the fact of his being made flesh ; for were we to admit, that the circumstance of an object being made flesh, or matter, which he was not before, does not evince the changeableness of the nature of that object, we must then be at a loss to discover even a single changeable object in the world. If one's being made flesh, and his growth and reduction, in the progress of time, should not be considered as an evidence of a change in him, every man might claim the honour of an immutable nature, and set up as God made flesh.

The Editor says, (p. 571,) that I "attempted to evade Isaiah. xi. 3, ('The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high-way for our God,') by suppling it with Malachi iii. 1, ('Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me ; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in ; behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts')

and confining his animadversions to the latter." I trust, the Editor, by referring to *Mark*, i. 2, 3, will find, that in coupling the above verses, I did no more than follow the example of that Evangelist, who also coupled them in his *Gospel*. As the explanation, adopted by me, of the prophecy of *Malachi*, fully explains the passage of *Isaiah*, I confined my animadversion to the former; for, "we find in the book of that prophet, distinct and separate mention of *Jehovah*, and of the *Messiah*, as the messenger of the covenant: *John*, therefore, ought to be considered as the forerunner of both, *and as the preparer of the way of both*; in the same manner as a commander, sent in advance to occupy a strong post in the country of the enemy, may be said to be *preparing the way* for the battles of his king, or of the general, whom the king places at the head of his army." (Second Appeal, pp. 243, 244.) On which explanation the Editor observes, that "The fact is, that *Malachi* does not mention two; it is *Jehovah* who was suddenly to come into his temple; and afterwards, *Jehovah* and the *Messenger of the covenant* are identified by the prophet's" adding, "he shall come," not "they." But we find, in the original Hebrew, *Malachi*, iii. 1, "*and the messenger of the covenant*," with the conjunction "and," after the mention of the Lord. It is, therefore, evident, that the messenger of the covenant is *distinctly* and *separately* mentioned. How the Editor supposes that "*Malachi* does not mention two," I am unable to guess. We find also, immediately after the mention of "*the messenger of the covenant whom ye delight in*," the prophet adds, "*Behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts*," as the saying of *Jehovah*.—How can the mention of the messenger of the covenant, in the third person, by the Deity, prove the unity of that messenger with the Deity? Were we to admit, that every being spoken of in the third person by God, is identified with God, the number of identified Gods must, in that case, amount at least to thousands in the sacred writings. It is worth observing, that in the original Hebrew, "*the messenger of the covenant*" stands as nominative to the verb **לֹא** or "shall come," with the pronoun "he." The verse thus stands in the original: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; and the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come, (or, IS COMING,) saith the Lord of hosts." The Editor adds, "That *Jesus* is *Jehovah*, mentioned in *Isaiah*, xl. 3, whose way *John* was sent to prepare, is confirmed by the testimony of *Zechariah*

and John his son." As to the nature of Jesus, Zechariah gives us to understand (Luke, i. 69,) that God "hath raised up an *horn* of salvation for us in the house of his servant David." In the evangelical writings of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, we find Jesus represented by John, as mightier than himself. In John we find still more explicit testimony (i. 29). "Behold the *Lamb* of God, who taketh away the sin of the world." (30) "This is he of whom I said, After me cometh *a man* who is preferred before me." My readers may now judge whether Zechariah and John confirmed the identity of Jesus with Jehovah, or represented him as a creature *raised*, and exalted by his and our Father, the Most High.

Some orthodox divines having attempted to prove the Deity of Jesus, by comparing Isaiah, xl. 10, ("Behold, the Lord God will come with a strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.") with Rev., xxii. 12, ("Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give to every man according as his work shall be,") I brought to their notice, (in my Second Appeal p. 254,) John, v. 30, 22, "The Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all Judgment unto the Son;" and Matt., xvi. 27, "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works." To weaken the force of my argument, the Editor says, (p. 573,) "These passages, however, do not in the least affect the question, which is not, by what authority Christ rewards, but whether he be the person described as rewarding: and this, these very passages confirm, particularly Rev., xxii. 12." If in the administering of judgment and of reward, as well as in the performance of miracles, the authority by which these things are done should be considered as a matter of no consequence, the almighty power of Jesus, and that of several others, might be established on an equal footing. Is it not, therefore, a subject worthy of question, whether Joshua ordered the sun and the moon to stop their motions, by the authority of God, or by his own power? Is it not a question worth determining, whether Elijah raised the dead by the authority of the Most High, or independently of the Almighty power? But if we consider it incumbent on us to believe and to know that those prophets performed works peculiarly ascribed to God, by the authority of his Divine Majesty, why should we not deem it also necessary to ascertain whether the authority to judge men and to reward them accordingly, as well as the power of performing

miracles, were vested in Jesus, by the omnipotent God, or exercised by him independently of the Father of the universe? In point of fact, we find the following positive avowal of Jesus himself—"The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."—"As I hear i judge ; and my judgment is just: because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me." Here the Editor offers the following explanation, saying, that "All power, as to providence and final judgment, is committed to him, not merely as the Son, but as the Son of Man, the Mediator, because he made himself the Son of Man" This amounts to the doctrine of the two-fold nature of Jesus, the absurdity of which I have often noticed. I may, however, be permitted to ask the Editor, whether there is any authority for the assertion that Jesus, as the Son of Man, was dependent on God for the exercise of his power: but as the Son of God was quite an independent Deity? So far from meeting with such authority, we find that Jesus, in every epithet that he was designated by, is described to be subject to and dependent on God. Acts, xvii. 31 "Because he hath appointed a day in which HE will judge the world in righteousness, *by* that MAN whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that HE hath raised him from the dead" John viii. 28. "Then said Jesus unto them, When ye have lifted up the SON of MAN, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things" xvii. 1, 2: "Father the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that THY SON also may glorify thee. As thou hast given HIM power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him" Heb i, 8, 9: "Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever and ever; as sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even THY GOD, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows" The Editor says, "His glory he (the Son) may, for a season, lay aside, but his divine nature he can never change" I wish to be informed what kind of divine nature it was that could be divested of its glory and power,† even for a season. To my understanding, such divinity must be analogous to matter without space or gravity, or sunbeam without light, which my limited capacity I must confess, cannot comprehend.

¶ John, xvii. 5 and 22

† John, xvii. 2; Acts x. 38.

The Editor finally argues, that "as the Father's committing to the Son the entire work and glory of being the final judge of all, judging no man himself, does not change his glorious nature, so the Son's laying aside his glory and becoming a man, in no way changes his original nature and godhead." It is true that God's committing to the Son the authority of judgment, bestowing on the sun the power of casting light upon the planets round him, and enabling superiors to provide food and protection for their dependents, do not imply any change in his glorious nature; for it is ordained by the laws of nature, that nothing can be effected, in this visible world, without the intervention of some physical means: but that the Son's or any other being's, laying aside his glory and becoming a man must produce at least a temporary change in his nature, is a proposition as obvious as any that can be submitted to the understanding.

I have of course, omitted to quote John, v. 23, during this discussion in my Second Appeal, because it has no relation to the subject, and because I noticed it fully in another part of that publication, p. 155.

I will also refrain from noticing, in this place, Heb., i. 12, alluded to by the Editor, as I have already considered that passage as fully as possible in the preceding Chapter, p. 92.

The Editor next comes to Isaiah xliv. 6: "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his redeemer Jehovah of hosts, I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God;" comparing it with Rev., i. 8, and xxii. 13. This argument has been already replied to in my Second Appeal, it shall be again adverted to shortly. He then endeavours to prove that Jesus cannot be meant as prohibiting John from worshipping him in verse 9, saying, that "In this book five persons address at different times, two of the elders around the throne two angels, and he who is the grand speaker throughout the book—whom he, after the first chapter, often introduces without the least notice, while he previously describes every other speaker, with the utmost care." The Editor, however, has quoted only instances in which John describes the two elders and the two angels in a distinct manner; but I cannot find that he adduces even a single instance where the "grand speaker" is "introduced without the least notice." Again, he says, "How could Jesus forbid John to worship him, after he received worship by the command of God from all the angels?" I may be, on the same principle, justified in asking the Editor, How the angel could forbid John to worship him

while he knew that other angels of God, and even human beings, had received worship from fellow-creatures? Joshua v. 14; "And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him," (the captain of the host of the Lord,) "What saith my Lord unto his servant?" Numb. xxii. 31: "And he (Balaam) saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand, and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face." Daniel, ii. 46: "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel." As the Editor's argument, therefore, must apply with equal force to angels as well as to Jesus, it is quite plain that no conclusion can be drawn from it relative to the identity of the being who, in Rev. xxii., 9, forbids John to worship him. The fact is, that the word "worship," in scriptural language, is used sometimes as implying an external mark of religious reverence paid to God; and since, in this sense worship was offered by John to the angel, or to Jesus, he refused it, as is evident from the last sentence of verse 9, "worship God;" and sometimes the same word "worship" is used as signifying merely a token of civil respect due to superiors: and accordingly, in this latter sense, not only Jesus, but angels and prophets, and even temporal princes or masters, used to accept of it, as we find in Matt., xviii. 26, "The servant, therefore, fell down and worshipped him," and so in various other instances. It denotes, in this acceptation, merely a mark of reverence, which neither identifies those to whom it is offered with the Deity, nor raises them to a level with their Creator, the Most High. My readers will observe, that the author of the book of Revelation declares himself, in Ch. i. 17, to have fallen at the feet of Jesus; and he speaks also, in Ch. v. 8, of the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders having fallen down before the Lamb; avoiding, however, in these places, as well as throughout the whole book of Revelation, the use of the word worship to express the reverence shewn to the Lamb; while to the words "fell down," when referring to God, he adds invariably, "and worshipped him." *Vide* Ch. vii. 11; xi. 16; xix. 4, and v. 14. 3rdly. He says, "How could Jesus, who declares himself to be Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, reject worship from John?" I do not wonder at the Editor's entirely neglecting to notice my remarks on the terms "Alpha and Omega," or, "the beginning and the end," in the Second Appeal, p. 252,—to wit, "Alpha and Omega, beginning and end, are, in a finite sense, justly applicable to Jesus,"—when I find him regardless of the explanation given by John

himself respecting these terms, and by St. Paul, one of his fellow-labourers. Rev. iii. 14: "These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, *the beginning of the creation of God*: I know thy works," &c., Cor. i. 15: "The first-born of every creature." 1 Cor., xv. 24: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, *even the Father*." Verse 28. "And when *all things* shall be subdued unto him, *then* shall the Son *also* himself be subject unto him, that God may be all in all."

As to Rev., i. 8 introduced again by the Editor, the expressions it contains are given as those of God himself and not of Christ, since it describes the speaker to be Him "who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty"—an epithet peculiarly applied to God five times in the book of Revelation, and very often throughout the rest of the sacred writings, and which is but a repetition of what is found in the preceding verse 4th of that chapter. Being equivalent to "Jehovah," it has never been applied to Jesus in any part of the Revelation, either separately or joined with the terms "Alpha and Omega." But, as I have already fully noticed this verse in page 112, I will not return to the subject here. 4thly. The Editor urges, "How could Jesus, who searches the heart, reject the acceptance of worship?" In answer to which I beg to remind him, that the prophets and the apostles also, as far as they possessed the gift of prophecy, were able to discover what passed in the hearts of other men; or in other words, were "searchers of hearts." Thus, in the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. v, verses 3, 4, 8, 9, St Peter is represented as a searcher of the hearts; but he is again stated, in Ch. x. 25, 26, to have prohibited Cornelius from offering him worship. And in 2 Kings, vi. 32, Elisha is declared to have known what passed in the heart of the king, without our therefore acknowledging him as an object of religious worship.

The Editor, lastly, lays stress on the phrase found in Rev., vii. 17, "The Lamb who is *in the midst* of the throne," overlooking the application of the same word, "midst," to the elders and the four beasts, in Ch. iv. 6. Besides, such a phrase as "to sit with the Father on his throne," implies nothing in the book of Revelation except an acquisition of holy perfection and honour, which Jesus, in common with every righteous Christian acquired *through his merits*. Ch. iii. 21: "To him that *overcometh* will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also *overcame*, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

In answer to his assertain, that it is "the Lamb whom the blessed constantly adore, crying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty," I beg to refer my readers to Ch. iv. 8, which contains this phrasé ; nay, rather to the whole of that Chapter, where they will find that no mention of "the Lamb," or Jesus, is once made.

The Editor observes, (p. 577,) that "in verses 5, 6, of Ch. xxi. another speaker besides the angel is introduced in an abrupt manner." I therefore repeat verse 11, of Ch. xx. and verses 5—7 of Ch. xxi and leave my readers to judge whether or not the speaker is here introduced in the same abrupt[†] manner as he alleged to be in Ch. xxii. 12, according to the interpretation of the Editor. Ch. xx. 11 : "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them" Ch. xxi. 5 : "And *he* that sat upon the throne *said*, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write, for these words *are* true and faithful." Ver. 6 : "And he said unto me, It is done I am Alpha and Omega," &c. Ver. 7 : "He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be *his* God, and he shall be *my son*."

I really cannot perceive what the Editor could have meant by the following remark "He there (in verse 5) uses the same language found in Ch. xxii. 6, 'Write, for these words are true and faithful !'" I hope he could not have intended to identify the speaker in Ch. xxii. 6, who represents himself as a fellow-servant of John, with the speaker in Ch. xxi. 5, who thus, speaking of himself, says, (verse 7,) "I will be his God, and he shall be *my son*." Besides, the language found in Ch. xxi. 5, is not "the very same" used in Ch. xxii. 6, since in the former the whole speech stands thus— "Write, *for* these sayings are true and faithful," but in the latter we find only, "These sayings are faithful and true;" but not the verb "*write*," nor the casual preposition "*for*."

The Editor comes next to what he calls internal evidence, saying, "Internal evidence, however, demonstrates that this angel neither said, 'Behold, I come quickly,' (verse 7,) nor 'I am Alpha and Omega,' (verse 13.)" Let us now examine the context and the style

[†] In the book of Revelation, John introduces, about eighty times different speakers, but not once without a distinct notice of the speaker in the context. In Ch. xvi. 14, 15, the day of the Lord is metaphorically introduced as a speaker. *Write* ! These v. 3 and 2 Peter, iii. 10

of the writings of the book of Revelation. 1st. There is not a single instance in the whole book of Revelation, in which a speech is repeated without the previous introduction of the speaker, and in this instance we find an angel is previously introduced in verse 6, as the speaker of verse 7. The passage in question (verses 6-13) runs thus: "And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew his servants the things which must shortly be done (7) Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he who keeps the prophecy of this book. (8) I, John, saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who shewed me these things (9) Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book worship God (10) And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand (11) He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: he that is righteous, let him be righteous still, and he that is holy, let him be holy still. (12) And behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be (13) I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." I am, therefore, quite at a loss to comprehend how the Editor can justify himself in ascribing verses 6, 8, and 9, to one being, and verse the 7th to another, in which there is no notice whatsoever of a new speaker. 2ndly. There is only one agent in the whole train of the verses, extending as far as verse 20, and no unbiased mind can, in the face of all the rules of composition reject the relation of a verb to an appropriate nominative standing before it, in order to refer the same to a noun which is not found in any of the immediately preceding sentences. 3rdly. Were we to follow the example of the Editor, and refer verses 6, 8, and 9, to an unknown angel, and verse 7 abruptly to Jesus, (which I conceive we cannot do, without defying common sense, and all the acknowledged laws of grammar,) we must be totally at a loss to account for the strange conduct of John towards Jesus, his Master, in falling down to worship before the feet of the angel, and neglecting Jesus entirely, though he saw and heard them both at one time, or rather his vision of Jesus was subsequent to that of the angel. 4thly. John himself explains whom he meant by the angel mentioned in xxii 6, identifying this angel

with Jesus, expressly named in the first Chapter of Revelation. Ch. xxii. 6. "And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done." Ch. i. 1. "God gave unto him, (Jesus,) to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass." As, in the English version there is some difference, though of no consequence, in these two phrases, I therefore quote the original, containing the precise words in both instances.

δεικνεῖ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἀ γενεσθαι εν ταῖς

I hope now that the explanation of the author of the book of Revelation, joined with the above-stated circumstances, will not fall short of producing conviction in the mind of the Editor and my other opponents.

We may easily find out the angel who is described in the latter end of Ch. i. 1, as being sent by Jesus, by reference to Ch. xxii. 16: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things *in the churches*." We find here two things distinctly: one, that Jesus designated as an angel in xxii. 6, *shewed*, as directed by God in Ch. i. 1, *all things which must shortly come to pass*; and the other, that he sent his angel to shew to John and his other servants *these things in the churches*, respecting the Christian dispensation, as expressly mentioned in verse 1 of the book of Revelation, as well as in Ch. xxii. 16. 5thly. I will now have recourse to the rule recommended by the Editor, "that when the speaker is not expressly named, his language designates him." As the phrase "I come quickly," found elsewhere in the book of Revelation, is used expressly by Jesus as speaker in five different instances, (Ch. ii. 5, 16, Ch. iii. 11, Ch. xxii. 12, 20,) we must naturally ascribe this phrase in verse 7, to Jesus, and must, therefore, refer the immediately following verses (8, 9,) to him, in perfect consistency with all other scriptural writings. It is not only in verse 9 that Jesus calls himself a servant of God, and addresses Christians as brethren, but also in Matt., xii. 18, he represents himself as a chosen servant of the Most High; and in xxviii. 10, and John xx. 17, designates the disciples as his brethren.

If the Editor should say, according to the general mode of Trinitarian exposition, that the adoption of such designations was in reference to the human capacity of Jesus, he will perhaps give up the present difference from me, under the supposition that in this instance also Jesus calls himself a servant of God, and his followers

brethren, as well as forbids John to worship him, merely in his human capacity.

I now conclude my reply to this branch of the Editor's argument, with a few remarks in allusion to such questions of the Editor, as "Is it that the Son of God, after receiving the worship of the highest archangel at God's express commands forbade John to worship him?" &c. I would ask, in turn; Can any man be justified in ascribing Deity to one whose language is this: "As I received of *my Father*" (Rev., ii. 27); "I have not found thy works perfect before *God*" (iii. 2), "I will confess his name before *my Father*, and before his angels" (verse 5); "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of *my God*: I will write upon him the name of *my God*, and the name of the city of *my God*, which cometh down out of heaven from *my God*?" (Verse 12) Is it consistent with the nature of God to acquire exaltation through merit -Chap v. 12: "Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing." Ch. vii. 21. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, *even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne*?" Is it becoming of the nature of God to sing thus, addressing himself to another being: "Great and marvellous are *thy* works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are *thy* ways, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear *thee*, O Lord, and glorify *thy* name? for thou ONLY art holy," &c. Ch. xv. 3, 4. Is not the Lamb throughout the whole Revelation mentioned separately and distinctly from God. Ch. i. 1: "The Revelation of *Jesus Christ*, which *God gave* unto him" Verse 2 "Who bare record of the word of *God*, and of the testimony of *Jesus Christ*." Verses 4, 5: "And peace from him who is, and who was, and who is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne; and from *Jesus Christ*, who is the faithful witness." Verse 9: "For the word of *God*, and for the testimony of *Jesus Christ*." Ch v 9: "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to *God* " Verse 10; "And hast made us unto our *God* kings and priests." Ch. xi. 15. "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our *Lord*, and of his *Christ*." Ch. xii. 17. "Who keep the commandments of *God*, and have the testimony of *Jesus Christ*" Ch. xiv. 12: "That keep the commandments of *God*, and the faith of *Jesus*." Ch. xxi. 23: "For the glory of *God* did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof "

John in ascribing to the Lamb most honorary epithets, those generally printed in capitals, takes great care in the choice of words, Ch. xix. 16: "He (the Lamb) hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords" Ch. xvii. 14 For "he (the Lamb) is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings." The apostle never once declares him to be "God of Gods," the peculiar epithet of the Almighty Power. So the most holy saints sing first the song of Moses, and then that of the Lamb; having perhaps had in view the priority of the former to the latter in point of birth. Ch. xv. 3: "And they (the holy saints) sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb."

In answer to one of the many insinuations made by the Editor in the course of his arguments, to wit, "If this be Christ, what must become of the precepts of Jesus?" (p. 576) I most reluctantly put the following query in reply: If a slain lamb be God Almighty, or his true emblem, what must be his worship, and what must, become his worshippers?

On the attempt to prove the Deity of Jesus Christ by comparing Isaiah, xiv. 23, ("Unto me," i. e., God, "every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear,") with Rom. xiii. 10-12, ("But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then, every one of us shall give account of himself to God,") I observed in my Second Appeal, that "Between the prophet and the apostle there is a perfect agreement in substance, since both declare that it is to God that every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess *through him*, before whose judgment-seat we shall all stand at the same time both Jesus and his apostles inform us, that we must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, because *the Father has committed the office of final judgment to him.*" To which the answer of the Editor is this, "We here beg leave to ask our author, where the phrase *through him* is to be found? it must be in the author's copy of the prophet and the apostle—it is not in ours." By these words the Editor clearly means to insinuate, that the words in question are gratuitously inserted in my explanation, and without any authority in the holy scriptures. At least I am otherwise at a loss to understand what he means by saying that the words of my paraphrase are not to be found in his edition of the

Bible; for it would be unworthy to suppose of him that he wished to impress his readers with the idea, that I was quoting a particular *passage* falsely, instead of the fact that I was only giving my idea of its import. That I was fully warranted in my interpretation, I hope to convince the Editor himself, by referring him to the following passages, in which it is expressly declared that it is *through Jesus* that glory and thanks are to be given to God, and that we have peace with God: and also that it is by *Jesus Christ* that God judgeth the world Rom. xvi. 27: "To God only wise, be glory *through Jesus Christ* forever. Amen" Ch. v. 1: "We have peace with God *through our Lord Jesus Christ*" Ch. i. 8. "I thank my God *through Jesus Christ*" Ch. ii. 16: "In the day when *God* shall judge the secrets of men *by Jesus Christ*" 2 Cor., v. 18 "All things are of God, who hath, reconciled us to himself *by Jesus Christ*." John, v. 22 "For the Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all judgment unto the Son." After considering these texts, no one can, I think, refuse to admit the correctness of my assertion, that it is *to God* every knee shall bow *through Christ*, before whose judgment-seat we shall stand, "because the Father has committed the office of final judgment *to him*," as being founded upon the best authority that man can appeal to.

Upon the interpretation of the above-mentioned passage of Isaiah, to wit, "It is Jesus that swears here by himself," I observed in my Second Appeal, "How can they escape the context, which expressly informs us that Jehovah God, and not Jesus, swore in this manner?" To this the Editor replies, that "the Son was Jehovah before he was Jesus," &c. Is not this merely a begging of the question, inasmuch as one may equally assert that Moses or Joshua was Jehovah before he was Moses or Joshua?

He further says, that "Jesus is so pre-eminently Saviour, that there is salvation in no other." I agree with the Editor so far as to declare Jesus to be, under God, the only Saviour mentioned in the records of the Christian dispensation; but previous to his birth there were many saviours raised by God to save his servants, noticed already in other places.

The Editor adds, that in Isaiah, xiv. 24, righteousness is used in such a sense as is principally applicable to the Son. I therefore transcribe the verse, that the reader may judge whether or not his position has any foundation: Surely, shall one say, In the Lord

have I righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come and all that are incensed against him shall be ashamed."

Respecting the attempt to prove the Deity of Jesus from the circumstance of his being figuratively represented as the husband or the supporter of his church, John, iii, 29, Eph., v. 23, and also God's being called the husband of his creatures, Isaiah, liv. 5. I requested in my Second Appeal, that "my readers would be pleased to examine the language employed in these two instances. In the one God is represented as the husband of *all* his creatures, and in the other, Christ is declared to be the husband, or the head of his *followers*: there is, therefore, an inequality of authority evidently ascribed to God and to Jesus. Moreover, Christ himself shows the relation that existed between him and his church, and himself and God, in John, xv. 1: 'I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman.' Verse 5: 'I am the vine, ye are the branches, &c. Would it not be highly unreasonable to set at defiance the distinction drawn by Jesus between God himself, and his church? The Editor has not taken the least notice of this last argument; he only glances over the former, saying, (p 579) "Had our author examined the context with sufficient care, he would have found that those to whom God declares himself the husband, are so far from being all his creatures, that they are only one branch of his church, the Gentiles, the children of the desolate, in opposition to the Jews, the children of the married wife" I wonder how the choice of the designation "thy Maker," in Isaiah, liv. 5, in preference to others, and its true force, could escape the notice of the Editor, as the phrase "thy Maker is thy husband" implies in a general sense that whosoever is the maker is also the preserver, and consequently, God is the husband, or the preserver, of all his creatures, including the Jews more especially as his chosen people. I, however, wish to know how the Editor justifies himself in concluding real unity between God and Jesus from the application of the term husband to them, while Jesus declares the relation between God, himself, and his church, to be such as that existing between the husbandman, the vine, and its branches.

Some orthodox divines having attempted to establish the Deity of Jesus, by comparing Jer., xxiii. 5, 6. ("I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper- and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS,") with 1 Cor., i. 30, ("Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom

and righteousness," &c.) I replied, in my Second Appeal, that "I only refer my readers again to the passage in Jer. xxxiii., 16, in which Jerusalem also is called 'THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS,' and to the phrase, 'is MADE unto us of God,' found in the passage in question, and expressing the inferiority of Jesus to God; and also to Cor., v. 21 'that we might be made the righteousness of God in him; ' where St Paul says, that all Christians may 'be made the righteousness of God; ' " to which the Rev. Editor thus replies (p. 480); "This does not at all affect the question in hand, which is simply, whether this righteous branch of David, this king, who shall reign and prosper, be Jesus Christ or not: and to prove this, we need only call in the testimony of the angel to Mary, Luke, i. 32, 33, 'The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father, David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.' " The Editor here overlooks again the force of the phrase, "God shall give unto him (Jesus) the throne of his father David," implying, that the throne and exaltation which Jesus was possessed of, was but the *free gift* of God.

To lessen the force of such phrases as, "being *made* of God," "God shall *give* unto him," &c., the Editor adds, that, "relative to his 'being made of God our righteousness to us,' this can of course make no alteration in the Son's *eternal nature* " I, therefore, beg to ask the Editor, if one's being *made* by *another* anything whatsoever that he *was* not before, does not tend to prove his mutable nature, what nature, then, can be called mutable in this transitory world? The Editor again advances, that Jesus "was Jehovah before he became incarnate," &c. This is a bare assertion which I must maintain to be without any ground, unless he means to advance the doctrine, that souls are emanations of God and proceed from the Deity

As to Jerusalem being called, "Jehovah our righteousness," the Editor says, "We may observe, that it is the church of Christ, the holy Jerusalem, who bears this name, to the honour of her glorious head and husband, who is, indeed, Jehovah her righteousness" (p. 581) Let us reflect on this answer of the Editor. In the first place, the term Jerusalem, in Jer., xxxiii. 16, from its association with the term "Judah," is understood as signifying the well-known holy city in that kingdom, having no reference to the church or followers of Christ. In the second place, if the Editor understands by the term "Jerusalem" here, the church of Christ, and admits of Jerusalem being figuratively called "Jehovah our righteousness,"

on the ground that Christ is its head, and that, consequently it bears that name "to the *honour* of his glorious head," though, in reality, different from and subordinate to him, how can he reject the figurative application of the phrase "Jehovah our righteousness" to Jesus, on the same ground and same principle, which is, that as Jehovah is the head of Christ, consequently Christ bears this name "to honour of his *head*," though, in reality, different from and subordinate of God? *Vide* 1 Cor. xi. 3. "But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God."

The Editor shews an instance in Isaiah, in which seven women wish to be called by the name of a husband, to have their reproach taken away. He must also know that thousands of sons and descendants are called by the name of one of their fathers, and servants by the name of their masters, to the honour of the father or the master. *Vide*, Isaiah xlviii. 1; Gen., xliii. 6; Hosea, xi. 8, 9; Exod., xxviii. 21. The Editor then proceeds to divide the honorary names, found in scripture, into two kinds— one given by men, and the other by God; but he must know that the names given by prophets, or by common men, if used and confirmed by God, or by any of the sacred writers, become as worthy of attention as if they had been bestowed originally by the Deity himself.

The Editor again uses the following words, "The incommutable name Jehovah, the self-existent," from the verb **הָיָה** *hayah*, "to be" or "to exist," which is applied to no one throughout the scriptures besides the sacred three," &c. We know very numerous instances in which the name "Jehovah" is applied to the most sacred God, but never met with an instance of applying to two other sacred persons the simple term "Jehovah." I wish the Editor had been good enough to have taken into consideration that this is the very point in dispute, and to have shewn instances in which the second and third persons of the Deity (according to the Editor's expression) are addressed by this name. He further observes, that "no one supposes that Jehovah-Jireh, "God will see or provide," given by Abraham to the place where he offered Isaac was intended to denote that place, but to perpetuate the fact that the Lord did there provide a sacrifice instead of Isaac," that Jehovah-nissi, "God, my banner," given by Moses to his altar, intended anything more than that God was his banner against the Amalekites,—that Jehovah-tsaddenu,

"Jehovah our righteousness," the name by which men should call Jerusalem, &c. Christ's church was intended to identify her, but to demonstrate that her Head and Head, who is righteousness, is indeed Jehovah." Here I follow the very same mode of interpretation adopted by the Editor, in explaining the same phrase, "The Lord our righteousness," (in 1 M. Jer., xxiii. 6, referred to the Messiah, that is, the application of this phrase to the Messiah does not deify him, but demonstrates that his Father, his *metoyer*, his *HEAD*, the Most High, who is his righteousness, is the Lord Jehovah; so that the consistency cannot be overlooked which prevails through all the phrases of a similar nature; for as Christ is represented to be the head of his church, so God is represented to be the head of Christ, as I noticed in the foregoing page. Lastly, the Editor says, "Compound names therefore, do not of themselves express Deity, but they express facts more strongly than simple assertions or propositions." I am glad to observe that he differs from a great many of his colleagues, in their attempt to deify the Messiah from the application of the above phrase to him; but as to the facts demonstrated by the phrase, they may be easily as attained from comparing the application of it with that of exactly similar phrases to others, as I have just observed.

The Editor now mentions (p. 583) a few more instances of which, he thinks tend to illustrate, not so much the name as the divine nature of the Son. In Ex. x. 22, we have this expositation: "Fear ye not me" saith the Lord. "Will ye not tremble at my presence? I have placed the sand for the bound of the sea by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass it, and though the waves toss themselves, yet can they not prevail." This however is only a part of that work of creation ascribed to him who, while on earth, "exercised absolute dominion over the winds and the waves in no name *beside his own*." But what the passage of Jeremiah has to do with the divine nature of Jesus, I am unable to discover. The Editor might have quoted at this rate all the passages of the Old Testament that ascribe to God the supreme control over the whole world as evidence in favour of the Deity of Jesus; as he was sure to find always many persons of the same persuasion to append any thing clerical in favour of the Trinity.

As to his position, that Jesus "exercised absolute dominion over the winds and the waves in no name beside his own," I beg to quote John x. 25, to shew that whatever power Jesus, in common with other prophets, exercised over wind and water while he was on earth, he did

it in the *name of God* — “Jesus answered them, I told you and ye believed not, the works that I do, *in my Father's name* they bear witness of me.” — “And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.” — I say Jesus in common with other prophets, because both Elijah and Elisha the prophets exercised power over wind and water and other things, like Jesus, in the *name* of the Father of the universe — 1 Kings, xvii, xviii, 14-45, and 2 Kings, ii, 21; sometimes without verbally expressing the name of God, Ch. v, 8-13 & 27 Ch. ii, 10.

Upon the assertion in my Second Appeal that the “*elijahet God is frequently applied in the sacred scriptures to others beside the Supreme Being*” the Editor observes that “*this objection Jeremiah cuts up*, Ch. x, ii, ‘*the Gods that have not made the heavens and the earth even they shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens;*’ which declaration sweeps away not only the Gods of the heathen but all magisterial Gods and even Moses himself as far as he aspired to the godhead. But from this general wreck of our author's Gods, Christ is excepted, he having made these heavens and laid the foundation of the earth.” Let us apply this rule adopted by the Editor respecting the prophets, to Jesus Christ. We do not find him once represented in the scriptures as the maker of heavens and earth; this peculiar attribute having been throughout the whole sacred writings ascribed exclusively to God the Most High. As to the instances pointed out by the Editor, Hebrews 1, 10 and Cor., i, 17, I fully explained them in pp. 343 and 346, as having reference to God the Father of the universe. Moreover we observe in the New Testament, even in the same book of Hebrews, that whatever things Jesus made or did, he accomplished as an instrument in the hands of God. Heb., i, 2: “Whom he hath *appointed* heir of all things *of whom also he made the worlds*” Ephes., iii 9: “Who created all things *by Jesus Christ*.” It would indeed be very **strange** to our faculties to acknowledge one as the true God, and yet to **maintain** the idea that he created things by the directions of another being, **and was appointed** as heir of all things by that other. Again in **pursuance** of the same rule of the Editor I find that Jesus like other **perishable** Gods both died and was buried, though raised afterwards by his Father, who had the power of raising Elijah to heaven even **without** suffering him to die and be buried for a single day. My readers may now judge whether Jesus Christ be not included in common with other **perishable** Gods in the rule laid down by the Editor.

To deify Jesus Christ, the Editor again introduces the circumstance of his being a searcher of hearts, to execute judgment Rev. ii. 23, and also quotes Heb. i. 3. Having examined these arguments in pages 344 and 393, I will not return to them here.

He adds, in this instance, "We are hence assured that the Father who perfectly knows the Son, did not commit to him all judgment so entirely as to judge no man himself, without knowing his infinite fitness for the work." It is evident that the Father did not commit to the Son all judgment so entirely as to judge no man himself, without qualifying him for so doing; that is, without giving him the power of knowing all the events of this world in order to the distribution of rewards and punishments. Matt. xxviii. 18, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." Notwithstanding this, the power of knowing those things that do not respect the execution of judgment by the Son, is not bestowed upon him, and the Son, therefore, is totally ignorant of them. Mark xiii. 32, "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son* but the Father." No one destitute of the power of omniscience is ever acknowledged as Supreme of God by any sect that believe in revealed religion.

He quotes Heb. iv. 13, "Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do," in order to corroborate the idea that Christ knew all the secrets of men. Supposing this passage to be applicable to Jesus Christ, it does not convey any other idea than what is understood by Rev. ii. 23, which I have already noticed. But the Editor must know that in the immediately preceding verse, the word of God, or Revelation, while figuratively represented as a two-edged sword, &c., is in the same allegorical sense declared to be "a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." There is, therefore, no inconsistency in ascribing the knowledge of the intents of hearts to him through whom that Revelation is communicated, and who is appointed to judge whether the conduct of men is regulated by them in conformity to that Revelation.

The Editor says (page 584) that "in Ezekiel xxviii. God **says** respecting a man who arrogated to himself the honors of Godhead, 'Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, thus saith the Lord God, because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said I am a God—behold thou shalt die the death of the uncircumcised, &c.' How different

the Father's language to the Son : 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever !' Why this different language to the prince of Tyrus and to Jesus?" Had the Editor attentively referred to the scriptures, he would not have taken the trouble of putting this question to me ; for he would have easily found the reason for this difference ; that is, the king of Tyrus called himself God, as above stated, but Jesus, so far from robbing the Deity of his honour, never ceased to confess that God was both his God and his Father" (John xx. 17) Also, that the prince of Tyrus manifested disobedience to God, but Jesus even laid down his life in submission to the purpose of God, and attributed divine favour towards himself to his entire obedience to the Most High. Rom. v. 19 : "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the *obedience of one* shall many be made righteous" John x. 17. "Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again." Luke xxii. 42. "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me : nevertheless, *not my will, but thine* be done" As the conduct of the prince and that of Jesus towards God were quite different, they were differently treated by the Father of the universe. As to the above verse, ("Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,") God does not peculiarly address Jesus with the epithet God, but he also uses for the chiefs of Israel and for Moses the same epithet.

The editor quotes 1 Cor. iv. 5. "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of God" The passage simply amounts to this. "Judge not either me or others before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and secret counsels of men's hearts, in preaching the Gospel; and then shall every one have that praise, that estimate set upon him, by God himself, which he truly deserves." - *Locke.*

It is not Jesus alone that was empowered by God to know and to judge all secret events, but on particular occasions others were intrusted with the same power as has already been noticed in page 393 and will also be found in Daniel vi. "I thank thee and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee ; for thou hast now made known unto us the king's matter" and in 2 Sam. xiv. 19 and 20. "And the king (David) said. Is not the hand of

Joab with thee in all this? and the woman answered and said - **Ye** Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth." 1. Cor. vi. 2 and 3. "Do you not know that saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge angels? &c." Here Christian saints are declared to be judges of the deeds of the whole world and of course to be possessors of a knowledge of all events, both public and private, so as to enable them to perform so delicate a judgment. Besides a knowledge of future events is by no means less wonderful than that of past things or present secrets of hearts, yet we find all the prophets of God were endued with the former. 1 Kings xx. 22. "And the prophet came to the king of Israel and said unto him, go strengthen thyself and mark and see what thou dost, for at the return of the year the king of Syria will come up against thee." So we find the same gift of future knowledge granted to righteous men in numerous instances.

He then cites Dan. i. and vii. and finds upon them the following question. "If then by nature he was not God, by nature the creator of heaven and earth, he and his kingdom must perish from under the heavens." To this my reply is, that we find Jesus subjected to the death of the cross while on earth, and after the general resurrection to him that put all things under him (1 Cor. xv. 28.) The son therefore is not by nature God, the creator of heaven and earth. As to the sophistry that attributes the death and subjugation of Jesus only to his human capacity, it might be applicable to every individual, alleging that they being the children of Adam, the son of God, (Luke viii. 38.) are possessed of a divine nature also; and that their death consequently is in their human capacity alone, but that in their divine nature they cannot be subjected to death. *Vide* pp. 355—356 of this Essay.

By applying to Jesus the epithet "most holy" found in Daniel ix. 24, the Editor attempts to prove the eternal deity of the son; for getting, perhaps, that the same term "most holy" is applied in the scriptures even to inanimate things. Numbers xviii. 10. "In the most holy place shalt thou eat it." Exodus xxv. 37. "It shall be an altar most holy."

The Editor in noticing Hosea says that "the Evangelist's quoting this passage Out of Egypt have I called my son" plainly shows that

it referid to Christ as well as to Israel ; but the difference is manifest : Israel was God's adopted son, constantly rebelling against his **father** : Jesus was God's proper son of the same nature with his **father** (as is every proper son) and did always what pleased him." This assertion of the Editor (that 'Israel was God's adopted son') is I think without foundation, for they are declared, like Jesus, to be begotten **sons** of God ; but mere not like Christ entirely devoted to the will of the Father of the universe. Deu. xxxii. 18, "Of the Rock that *begat* thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee" Exodus iv. 22, "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even *my first born*." He then quotes Hosea iii. 5 "Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God and David their king" — on which he comments that David had then been in his grave, he could be sought only in heaven, "as David in common with other saints could not search the heart and know the sincerity of prayers, this prophecy must be assigned to the son of David, the Messiah." I really regret to observe that as the Jews endeavour to misinterpret such passages as are most favourable to the idea of Jesus being the expected Messiah, so Christians in general try to refer to Jesus any passages that can possibly be explained as bearing the least allusion to their notion of the Messiah, however distant in fact they may be from such a notion. By so doing they both only weaken their respective opinions. The above citation on which the Editor now dwells is an instance. Let us refer to the text of Hosea iii. 4 "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim." Ver. 5: Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days. Does not the poetical language of the prophet determine to the satisfaction of every unbiased man that, after long sufferings Israel will repent of their disobedience and seek the protection of their God and the happiness which their fathers enjoyed during the reign of David, as it is very natural for a nation or tribe when opposed by foreign conquerors to remember their own ancient kings under whose Governments their fathers were prosperous, and to wish a return of their reign if possible? If the Editor insist upon referring this prophecy to Jesus, he must wait its fulfillment, as Israel has not yet sought Jesus as the son of David, the Messiah, who was promised to them.

The Editor says (page 586,) that Peter in Acts ii. 21, applies Jesus Joel ii. whereby he identifies Jehovah with him. But we find Peter here quoting only a part of Joel ii. 32, "and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." So far from applying this to the Son and identifying him with God, the apostle explains in the immediately following verse (22) his nature and his total subordination to God. "Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a *man appointed of God* among you, by miracles and wonders and signs which *God did by him* in the midst of you...." The Editor then adds, that Paul also addressed himself "to all who in every place call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord." (1 Cor. i. 2.) I therefore quote Locke's paraphrase on this verse, as well as his note on Roman x. 13, with a view to shew the Editor that the phrase "call on the name of Jesus" is not a correct translation in the English version. "To the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are separated from the rest of the world by faith in Jesus Christ, called to be saints, with all that are everywhere called by the name of Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours" (Locke on 1 Cor. i. 2.) Note on Rom. x. 13, page 381. "Whosoever hath, with care, looked into St. Paul's writings, must own him to be a close reasoner, that argues to the point, and therefore, if in the three preceding verses, he requires an open profession of the Gospel, I cannot but think that all that call upon him," verse 12, signifieth all that are open professed Christians, and if this be the meaning "of calling upon him" v. 12, it is plain it must be the meaning of "calling upon his name," verse 13, a phrase not very remote from "naming his name," which is used by St. Paul for professing Christianity. 2 Tim. ii. 19. If the meaning of the prophet Joel, from whom these words are taken, be urged, I shall only say, that it will be an ill rule for interpreting St. Paul, to tie up his use of any text, he brings out of the Old Testament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an example than the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of this chapter, which I desire any one to read as they stand, (uent. xxx. 11-14,) and see whether St. Paul uses them here, in the same sense. If the Editor still insists upon the accuracy of the translation of the phrase "call upon the name of Jesus" found in the version he will I hope refer to Mathew x. 10, 41 and 41. "He that receiveth you, receiveth me and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a

FINAL APPEAL

prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward ; &c. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward ;"—when he will perceive that calling on the name of Jesus, as being the Messiah sent by God, is an indirect call on the name of God ; in the same manner as one's yielding to a general sent by a king amounts to his submission to the king himself, and secures for him the same favour of the king as if he had yielded directly to the sovereign.

The Editor then quotes Amos iv. 13, perhaps on account of its containing the phrase, "declaring unto man what is his thought." As I have noticed this subject already, oftener than once, I will not return to it here.

He again quotes Zech. iii. 2 : "And Jehovah said unto Satan Jehovah rebuke thee, O Satan ; even Jehovah that hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee : is not this a brand plucked out of the fire ?" The Editor then proceeds to say, that "this passage, with ch. ii. 8. 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me,' & ch. xiii. 7, 'Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who is my fellow, saith the Lord of hosts,' forms another three-fold testimony of the distinct personality of the son, and his equality with the Father." I am unable to discover exactly what the Editor intends by his two first quotations. With respect to the former, that "Jehovah said unto Satan, Jehovah rebuke thee," &c. the Editor must be well aware that God speaks of himself, very frequently, throughout the sacred books, in the third person, instead of the first. Isaiah li. 1 ; "Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord," &c. 15 : "But I am the Lord thy God, that divided the sea, whose waves roared : *The Lord* of hosts is *his* name." Even in this very book of Zechariah, we find that the prophet speaks of himself sometimes in the third person. Zech. 1. 7 : "In the second year of Darius, came the word of Jehovah unto Zechariah," &c. vii. 8 : "And the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah, saying," &c. Neither God's nor Zechariah's speaking of himself, in the third person, in poetical language, can be construed into a proof of the plurality of either of their persons, or of the equality of either with some other being. The fact is that Zechariah prophesies, in the second year Darius, King of Persia, of the Lord's will to build the second temple at Jerusalem, by Joshua, Zerubbabel, and Semuh ; and to rebuke

Satan, who would discourage Joshua, the high-priest, from that undertaking ; as is evident from the following passage : Zech. i. 1 : "In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord, to Zechariah," &c. 16 : "Therefore, thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies ; my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem." ii. 2 : "Then said I, Whither goest thou ? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem," &c. iii. 1, 2 : "And he shewed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan ; even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee : is not this a brand plucked out of the fire ?" As to Zerubbabel the prophet says, iv. 9, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house ; his hands shall also finish it," &c. Respecting Semuh, vi. 12, 13, "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is Semuh ; and he shall grow up out of his place, and ye shall build the temple of the Lord : Even he shall build the temple of the Lord : and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne ; and he shall be a priest upon his throne ; and the counsel of peace shall be between them both,"—that is between Semuh and Joshua, mentioned in the immediately preceding verse 11. In the English version the meaning of the name of Semuh is used, *viz.*, "Branch," instead of Semuh itself, both here and in ch. iii. 8, and the commentators choose to apply the name thus translated to Jesus, though no instance can be adduced of Jesus Christ's having been so called, and though the prophet expressly says, in ch. vi. 12, "whose name is Semuh." He is speaking of the *SECOND* building of the temple, which began in the reign of Darius, king of Persia, long before the birth of Christ. *Vide* the whole book of Zechariah.

The second quotation is "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you ; for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye." (ii. 8.) The prophet here communicates to the people the words of God, that "after he has sent me with his will, to the nations who tyrannize over Israel, that^{*} he who touches Israel touches the apple of his own eye."

* The י in the original Hebrew signifies "that" as well as "for." See Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon.

Zechariah very often, in his book, introduces himself as being sent by God : but how the Editor, from the circumstances, infers the separate personality of the Son, of his equality with the Father, he will, I hope, explain. If he insists upon the equality of the Most High, with that of him who says, in the verse in question, "After the glory hath he sent me," (upon some ground that we know nothing of,) he would be sorry to find at last, that he equalizes Zechariah, instead of Jesus, with God. I will, according to the plan already adopted, notice the third quotation, "Awake, O sword," (xiii. 7,) in a subsequent chapter among the other passages alluded to in the second chapter of this work.

CHAPTER IV

*On the Editor's Replies to the Arguments contained in Chapter II
of the Second Appeal.*

To my inquiry in the Second Appeal, "Have we not his (Christ's) own express and often repeated avowal, that all the powers he manifested were committed to him as the Son, by the Father of the universe?" the Editor thus replies in the negative (p. 588): "No;—that he was appointed by the Father to act as mediator between him and sinners, we have already seen; for without this he could have been no mediator between his Father and his offending creatures." Every unbiassed man may easily pronounce, whether it is consistent with any rational idea of the nature of the Deity, that God should be appointed by God, to "act the part of a mediator," by "laying aside his *glory*, and taking on himself the form of a *servant*;" and may discern, whether it is not most foreign to the notion of the immutable God, that circumstances could produce such a change in the condition of the Deity, as that he should have been not only divested of his *glory* for more than thirty years, but even subjected to servitude? Are not the ideas of supreme dominion and that of subjection, just as remote as the east from the west? Yet the Editor says, that while he was stripping himself of his *glory*, and taking upon himself the form of a *servant*, he was just as much Jehovah as before.

The Editor, in common with other Trinitarians, conceives, that God the Son, equally with God the Father, (according to their mode of expression) is possessed of the attributes of perfection, such as mercy, justice, righteousness, truth, &c., yet he represents them so differently as to ascribe to the Father strict justice, or rather vengeance; and to the Son, unlimited mercy and forgiveness, that is the Father, the first person of the Godhead, having been in wrath at the sinful conduct of his offending creatures, found his mercy so resisted, by justice that he could not forgive them at all, through mercy, unless he satisfied his justice by inflicting punishment upon thesee guilty men; but the Son, the second person of the Godhead, though displeased at the sins of *his offending creatures*, suffered his mercy to

overcome justice, and by offering his own blood as an atonement for their sins, he has obtained for them pardon without punishment ; and by means of vicarious sacrifice, reconciled them to the Father, and satisfied his justice and vengeance. If the justice of the Father did not permit his pardoning sinful creatures, and reconciling them to himself, in compliance with his mercy, unless a vicarious sacrifice was made to him for their sins ; how was the justice of the Son prevailed upon by his mercy, to admit their pardon, and their reconciliation to himself, without any sacrifice, offered to him as an atonement for their sins ? It is then evident, that, according to the system of Trinitarians, the Son had a greater portion of mercy than the Father, to oppose to his justice in having his sinful creatures pardoned, without suffering them to experience individual punishment. Are these the doctrines on which genuine Christianity is founded ? God forbid !

If the first person be acknowledged to be possessed of mercy equally with the second, and that he, through his infinite mercy towards his creatures, sent the second to offer his blood as an atonement for their sins, we must then confess that the mode of the operation and manifestation of mercy by the first is strange, and directly opposite to that adopted by the second, who manifested his mercy even by the sacrifice of life, while the first person displayed his mercy only at the death of the second, without subjecting himself to any humiliation or pain.

In answer to the Editor's position, that Jesus, even as a mediator, was possessed of every power and perfection that was inherent in his divine nature, I only beg to remind him of a few sacred passages among many of a similar nature : John, iii. 35 : "The Father loveth the Son, and hath GIVEN all things into his hand." Ch. xvii. 22 : "And the glory which thou GAVEST me, I have given them," &c. Ch. v. 26 : "For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he GIVEN to the Son to have life in himself." Luke, i. 32 : "And the Lord God shall GIVE unto him the throne of his father David." Matt., ix. 8 : "But when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power to MEN." Ch. xxviii. 18 : "Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All power is GIVEN unto me in heaven and in earth." On these texts I trust no commentary is necessary to enable any one to determine whether all the power and glory that Jesus enjoyed were given him by God, or were inherent in his own nature.

The Editor again denies Christ's having "possessed a single power, perfection or attribute, which was not eternally inherent in his divine nature," and defies me "to point out one attribute of perfection in the Father, which from scripture testimony the Son has not been already shewn to possess." I, therefore, take upon myself to point out a few instances which I hope will convince the Editor that the peculiar attributes of God were never ascribed to Jesus, nor to any other human being who may have been, like Jesus, figuratively called gods in scriptural language. In the first place, the attribute of being the "Most High" or עֶלְיוֹן, by which the supreme Deity is distinguished above all gods, is not found once ascribed to Jesus, though invariably applied to the Father throughout the scriptural writings. Secondly, Jesus was never called almighty, or יְמַלֵּךְ, a term peculiarly used for the Deity. Nay, moreover, he expressly denies being possessed of almighty power. Matt., xx. 23: "But to sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but to them for whom it is PREPARED of MY FATHER." Ch. xxvi. 53: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to MY FATHER, and he shall presently GIVE ME more than twelve legions of angels?" John, xi. 41: "Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid; and Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me" He also denies his omniscience. Mark, xiii. 32: "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." Any being, if not supreme, almighty, and omniscient, and more especially, one subjected to the transitions of birth and death, must, however highly exalted, even by the title of a god, and though for ages endowed with all power in heaven and in earth, be considered a created being, and like all creatures, be in the end, as the apostle declares, subject to the Creator of all things. Besides, in the creed which the generality of Trinitarians profess, God is described as self-existent, having proceeded from none; but the Son, on the contrary, is represented as proceeding from the Father. Here even the orthodox amongst Christians ascribe the attribute of self-existence to the Father of the universe alone.

In my Second Appeal I observed, that "the sun, although he is the most powerful and most splendid of all known created beings, has yet no claim to be considered identical in nature with God, who has given to the sun all the heat," &c.; to which the Editor replies, "What is the sun to his Maker?"—I wish he had also added, "but

that which a son and creature is to his Father and Creator?" When he again inquires, saying, "If the sun has no claim to Godhead, has its Maker none?" (alluding to Christ,) he might have recollect that neither the sun nor Jesus has ever arrogated to himself Godhead, but that it is their worshippers that have advanced doctrines ascribing Godhead and infinite perfection to these finite objects. Notwithstanding that we daily witness the power of the glorious sun in bringing into life, and preserving to maturity an infinite variety of vegetable and animal objects, yet our gratitude and admiration recognize in him only a being instrumental in the hands of God, and we offer worship and duty to him alone who has given to the sun all the light and animating warmth which he sheds on our globe. On the same ground, whether we understand from scriptural authority, that the supreme Deity made through Jesus Christ all the things belonging to the Christian dispensation, or everything relating to this visible world, (as interpreted by the *worshippers* of Jesus,) we must not, in either case, esteem him as the supreme Deity, in whose hand he is represented by the same Scriptures but as an instrument.

The Editor says, that though the power of effecting a material change, without the aid of physical means, be peculiar to God, "yet this power Christ not only possessed, but bestowed on his apostles." Supposing Jesus alone had the power of effecting material changes without the aid of physical means, and of bestowing on others the same gift, it could have proved only his being singular in the enjoyment of this peculiar blessing of God and not his being identical or equal with him who conferred such a power on him; but it is notorious that Jesus was not at all peculiar in this point. Were not the miracles performed by Joshua and Elijah, as wonderful as those done by Jesus? Did not Elijah bestow on his servant Elisha the power of effecting changes without physical means by putting his own spirit on him? Is Elijah, from the possession of this power, to be considered an incarnation of the supreme Deity? 2 Kings, ii. 9: "And it came to pass when they (Elijah and Elisha) were gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee before I be taken away from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. 10. And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing, nevertheless if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so. 11. And Elijah

was taken up by a whirlwind into heaven, 12. And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father" &c. 14: "And when he had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither, and Elisha went over. 15. When the sons of the prophets saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." Besides, we find in the evangelical writings, that notwithstanding the power of performing miracles given by Jesus to his apostles, they could not avail themselves of such a gift, until their faith in God was become firm and complete: it is hence evident that God is the only source of the power and influence that one creature has over another. Matt., x. 1: "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease." Ch. xvii 16: "And I brought him (the lunatic child) to thy disciples, and they could not cure him." 19: "Then came the disciples to Jesus apart, and said, Why could not we cast him out? 20. And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief; for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to another place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you. 21. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by *prayer* and fasting." Mark, xi. 22: "And Jesus answering saith unto them (his disciples,) *Have faith* in God. 23. For verily I say unto you, that whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed," &c.

In my Second Appeal I mentioned, that it is evident from the first chapter of Genesis, that "in the beginning of the creation, God bestowed on man his likeness, and sovereignty over all living creatures. Was not his own likeness, and that dominion, peculiar to God, before mankind were made partakers of them? Did God then deify man by such a mark of distinction?" On which the Editor thus remarks: "It is in reality asking, Did God make him cease to be a creature by thus creating him? We presume he expects no answer." If the Editor acknowledges that God, by bestowing on man his peculiar likeness and dominion, did not make him cease to be a creature, is he not, according to the same principle, obliged to admit the opinion, that although God raised Jesus above all, and bestowed on him a portion of his peculiar power and influence, yet he did not make him cease to be a creature?

In my Second Appeal, I selected nineteen passages out of many, in which Jesus distinctly disavows the divine nature, and manifests his subordination to God; to which the Editor replies. "They can prove nothing to his purpose, till they shew that his thus becoming incarnate, changed that divine nature which he possessed from eternity," &c. I therefore take upon myself to ask the Rev. Editor, whether the following passages found among those already quoted, do not prove the entire humanity of the Son, or (in the words of the Editor) a complete change in his divine nature if he was ever possessed of it? "As the Father gave me commandment, even so I do." "I CAN OF MINE OWN SELF DO NOTHING." "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me." "As my Father hath taught me I speak these things." "To my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." "Behold my servant whom I have chosen." If these declarations do fall short of shewing the human nature of the person who affirms them, I, as well as the Editor, should be at a loss to point out any saying of any of the preceding prophets, that might tend to substantiate their humanity. The Editor may perhaps say, after the example of his orthodox friends, that these, as well as other sayings to the same effect, proceeded from Jesus in his human capacity. I shall then entreat the Editor to shew me any authority in the scriptures, distinguishing one class of the sayings of Jesus Christ, as man, from another set of the same author as God. Supposing Jesus was of a two-fold nature, divine and human, as the Editor believes him to be, his divine nature in this case, before his appearance in this world, must be acknowledged perfectly pure and unadulterated by humanity. But after he had become incarnate, according to the Editor, was he not made of a mixed nature of God and man, possessing at one time both opposite sorts of consciousness and capacity? Was there not a CHANGE of a pure nature into a mixed one? I will not, however, pursue the subject further now, as I have already fully noticed it in another place. The Editor adverts here to Heb. i. 10; 1 Cor., xv. 24, 25: but as I have examined the former and the latter in other places I will not revert to the consideration of them in this place.

At p. 589, the Editor thus censures me: "To say that in the mouth of the Father, 'for ever and ever' means only a limited period, is to destroy the eternity of God himself;" and he quotes, "Jehovah shall reign for ever and ever." I have shown by numerous instances,

oth in my Second and in the present Appeal, that the terms 'for ever, everlasting,' when applied to *any one except God*, signify long duration: I therefore presume to think that the Editor might have spared this censure as being altogether undeserved. I will here, however, point out one or two more passages in the mouth of the Father, which contain the term "for ever," and in which it can imply only long duration. Gen., xvii. 8. "And I will give unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee — all the land of Canaan, for an *everlasting* possession." Jer., vii. 7. "Then will I cause you to dwell in this place in the land that I gave to your fathers *for ever and ever*." Dan., vii. 18: "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." Is the land of Canaan now in possession of Israel; and will it remain in their possession after all rule, authority, and power have been put down, and after the Son has delivered up his kingdom to God the Father of the universe? 1 Cor. 24, 28.

The Editor in the course of this discussion notices Philip, ii. 6, whence he concludes that Jesus was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, yet took upon himself the form of a servant, and became obedient to death: I will, therefore, first give the verse as it stands in the English version, and for the purpose of shewing the gradual progress of truth, I will add some subsequent translation of the same verse, by eminently learned Trinitarian authors, and finally transcribe it as found in the original Greek, with a verbal translation.

English version: Philip. ii. 6: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

Secondly. In a new translation from the original Greek, by James Macknight, D. D., verse 6 thus stands: "Who being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be like God." So John Parkhurst, M. A., the author of a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament who was also an orthodox writer, thus translates, conformably to the opinion of Drs. Doddridge and Whitby, two other celebrated orthodox writers, (p. 322): "Philip, ii. 6, *το ειναι ισα θεω* to be as God. So *ισα θεω* is most exactly rendered, agreeably to the force of *ισα* in many places in the LXX., which Whitby has collected in his note on this place. The proper Greek phrase for equal to God is *ισον τω θεω*, which is used in John, v. 18: 'Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father.'

making himself equal with God.' (This is not the only instance in which the Jews misunderstood Jesus, for in many other instances they misconceived his meaning. John, ii. 19, 21; vi. 41, 42, 52, 60.)

The term, "to be like God," as it is used by several orthodox writers, neither amounts to an identity of one with the other, nor does it prove an equality of the former with the latter. Gen., i. 26: "God said, Let us make man in our image, and after our *likeness*" 1 Chron., xii. 22: "At that time, day by day, there came to David to help him, until it was a great host, *like* the host of God." Ch. xxvii. 23: "The Lord had said that he would increase Israel *like* to the stars of heaven." Zech., xii. 8: "In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be *as* David: and the house of David shall be *as* God, *as* the angel of the Lord before them." 1 John, iii. 2: "But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be *like him*," &c.

Another Trinitarian author, Schleusner in his Lexicon to the New Testament renders the passage "Non habuit præda loco similitudinem cum Deo," "He did not esteem likeness to God in the place of a prey." The substance of this translation is adopted in the Improved Version of the New Testament.

Thirdly. The original Greek runs thus:

1 2 3 1 5 6 7 9 9 10 11 12
ος εν μορφῃ φεον υπαρχων ονχ, αρπαγμον ηγησαο το ειναι ισα θεω
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

"Who in form of God being, not robbery thought the being like God." Which words, arranged according to the English idiom, will run thus: "Who being in the form of God, did not think of the robbery the being like God." This interpretation is most decisively confirmed by the context of the verse in question. Verse 3 of the same Chapter: "Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in *lowliness of mind*, let each esteem others *better* than themselves." Verse 4: "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." Verse 5: "Let this *mind* be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." Verse 6: "Who, being in the form of God, did not think of the robbery of being like God." Verse 7: "But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant and

* We find the verb *ηγεομαι* implying to esteem as well as to think, with a simple accusative, 2 Pet., iii. 9: *ως τινες βραδυτητα ηγονται* "as some men count slackness" (properly speaking, "think of slackness").

was made in the likeness of men." Where the sense of a passage is complete without introducing an additional word more than is expressed, no one, unless devoted to the support of some particular doctrine, would think of violating fidelity to the original text by interpolation in the translation. Here the apostle requires of us to esteem others better than ourselves, according to the example of humility displayed by Jesus, who notwithstanding his Godly appearance, never thought of those perfections by which he approached man's ideas of God, but even made himself of no reputation. It would be absurd to point out one's own opinion of his equality with God as an instance of humility. How can we be following the example of Christ, in thinking others better than ourselves, if he, as the orthodox say, did not think even his Father higher than himself? We, however, must not suffer ourselves as to be misled by any such orthodox interpretation, to entertain so erroneous an idea of Christ's opinion of himself, bearing in mind that Jesus himself proclaims, "My Father is greater than I." John, xiv. 28.

No one can be at a loss to understand the difference of essence between Christ and his Creator God, implied in the phrase, "being in the form of God," as the distinction between "being God," and "being in the form of God," is too obvious to need illustration. Even Parkhurst, one of the most zealous advocates for the Trinity, thought it absurd to lay stress on the term "being in the form of God," in support of the Deity of Jesus Christ. (See p. 443.) "μορφη, perhaps from the Hebrew פְּנִים appearance and פָּנָה aspect. Outward appearance, 'form,' which last word is from the Latin *forma*, and this, by transposition, from the Doric *τορφα* for *μορφη*. See Mark, xvi. 12, (comp. Luke, xxiv. 13) Philip., ii. 6, 7, where the 6th verse refers not, I apprehend, to Christ's being real and essential God, or Jehovah, (though that he is so, is the foundation of Christianity) but to his glorious appearance, as God, before and under the Mosaic dispensation."

Should any one, in defiance of the common acceptation of the word "form," and of every authority, insist upon its implying real essence in the phrase, "being in the form of God," he must receive it in the same sense in the following verse, "took upon himself the form of a servant"; and he must then admit and believe that Christ was possessed of the real essence of God and the real essence of a servant. How can we reconcile real Godhead with real servitude, even for a moment?

Nor can the phrase, "Was made in the likeness of man," in verse 7, be admitted to identify him with Jehovah, any more than we can allow that Samson is so identified by the use of the parallel expression in Judges, xvi. 7 and 17: "I shall be weak, and be as a man;" "And be like any man." In the English version, the word *other* is found; that is, "be like *another man*;" which is not warranted by the original Hebrew, as Mr. Brown, an orthodox commentator, justly remarks in the margin.

The Editor says (p. 590) "Relative to Christ's being the first-born of every creature, we reply with Dr. Owen, whose work on Socinianism has never been answered—'It is not said Christ is *πρωτότοκος first-created*, but *πρωτότοκος the first-born*; and Christ is so the first-born, as to be the only-begotten Son of God, is so the first of every creature, that is, he is before them all, above them all, heir to them all, and so no one of them.' Although both "first-created," and "first-born," from the common acceptation of these words, equally imply a created nature, yet the reason for St. Paul's choice of the word "first-born" is obvious: for when used in reference to a creation not produced in the natural course, first-born signifies superiority to other creatures of the same class, and not "an only-begotten son," as Dr. Owen and the Editor seem to suppose. I will here point out the sense in which the word "first-born" is used in the Scriptures, when obviously not relating to natural birth. Exod. iv. 22, we find in the mouth of Jehovah himself, Israel, designated by the terms, "my son, even my *first-born*." Again, Jer., xxxi. 9: "I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my *first-born*." Psalm, lxxxix. 27; "I will make him (David) my *first-born*, higher than the kings of the earth." And now I will take upon myself to ask the Editor, whether Israel, as well as David, was so "first-born" as "to be the only-begotten son of God," and was also "before all the creatures above them all, heir to them all, and so no one of them;" or whether the designation was not rather applied both to the nation and to the individual because they were principal persons, and to shew that they were respectively chosen of God above the rest of his creation? Rom., viii. 29: "For whom God did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the FIRST-BORN among many BRETHREN." St. John defines what would be understood by the term "to be born of God." *Vide* 1 John, iv. 7: "Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God, and *everu one that loveth is born of God*,

and knoweth God." Hence Jesus is considered and declared to be the head of the children of God. So the term "only-begotten son" signifies most beloved among children, whether natural or spiritual, and not an only son of a father; as we find, in Heb., xi. 17, this very term applied to Isaac, though Abraham had another son by Hagar.

As to his assertion, "Christ is no one of them," (that is, of creatures) I only quote a few passages in which Jesus himself and his apostles enumerated him as "one of them." Matt., xxv. 40: "Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these *my brethren*, ye have done it unto me." Here it is the King and Lord, sitting upon the throne of his glory at the last day, who is represented as styling the poor and helpless his brethren. Ch. xxviii. 10: "Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: Go and tell *my brethren* that they go into Galilee; and there shall they see me." John, xx. 17: "But go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." 1 Cor., ix. 5: "As the *brethren* of the Lord and Cephas." Heb., ii. 11: "For he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are *all of one* (Father); for which cause he is not ashamed to call them *brethren*." Verse 12: "Saying I will declare thy name unto *my brethren*. In the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee."

As to the Editor's reliance on the subsequent verses to shew that the creation of all things was effected by Christ, I refer my readers to p. 338 of this Essay, where I observe, that the apostle Paul means, in this passage, only the creation of all the things in the Christian dispensation, as is explained in Eph., i. 21, 22, which represent Jesus as head over all things belonging to the church. I need not renew the subject of Revelations, repeated by the Editor, as I have already examined it.

I have shewn, that whatever power Jesus possessed either as man, Son of man, God, or Son of God, he received the same from the Father of the universe; therefore the assertion of the Editor, that ("certain powers were conferred on Jesus, not as a man, but as the Messiah, Christ, the anointed Son of God") is I presume, one of the mysteries of the doctrine of Trinity. How can the Editor reconcile the passages, quoted in my Second Appeal, to this assertion? Let him answer what is there advanced, in the course of the discussion of this very subject, of a few points of which I beg to remind him.

1stly. "In John, xvii. 5, 'And now, O Father, glorify me with thine ownself, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was,' with the same breath with which he prays for glory, he identifies the *nature* in which he does so, with that under which he lived with God before the creation of the world." Is not this petition to God for glory, by the same person, who says he was with God before the foundation of the world? Was he, before the foundation of the world, a man, or of a twofold nature, human and divine? If he was God almighty before the foundation of the world, how could that God implore another being for the restoration of the glory, which he at one time had, but lost subsequently?

2ndly. In John, viii. 42, Jesus declares, that he came not of himself, but that God sent him. Does not he avow here, that his coming to this world was not owing to his own will, but to the will of another being? Was he not entirely at the disposal of God, the Most High, even before his coming into this world? In Heb., x. 5-7, the apostle declares, that Jesus, at the time of his coming to the world, saith, that God had prepared him a body, and that he comes to the world to do the *will of God*. Had he been God before he had come to this world, how could he, in common with all other creatures, attribute his own actions to the will of the Supreme Disposer of all the events of the universe?

The Editor next quotes a part of Heb., i. 12, "Thou art the same." This I have fully noticed in another place.

The Editor disapproves highly of my assertion, in the Second Appeal, "Christ was vested with glory from the beginning of the world." I therefore beg to quote one or two scriptural passages, which, I hope, will justify that assertion. 1 John, ii. 13: "I write unto you, fathers, because ye have known him that is from the beginning." Rev., i. 14: "These things saith the Amen,—the beginning of the creation of God."

The Editor inquires, that I have contradicted myself by "ridiculing the idea of Christ's having two natures," after I had declared that Christ "lived with God before the creation of the world," and that "it would have been idle to have informed them, (the Jews,) that, in his mere corporeal nature, Jesus was inferior to his Maker, and it must, therefore, have been his spiritual nature, of which he here avowed his inferiority to God." I cannot perceive what contradiction there is in the assertion, that Christ lived in the divine purpose

and decree * before the world was, and that he, not merely as a man, before the assuming of the office of the Messiah, was inferior to his Creator, but that he was so even after he had been endowed with the Holy Spirit in the river of Jordan, and with the power of performing miracles, which is said to be a spiritual gift. Supposing he, like Adam, lived with God before his coming into this world, (according to the doctrines maintained by some Christians,) and afterwards was sent to the world, in the body of Jesus, for effecting human salvation, as John the Baptist was esteemed to be Elijah, even this doctrine does not preclude us from rejecting the idea of a two-fold nature of God and man.

The Editor says, that when "he (Jesus) emptied himself of his glory, did he lay aside his divine nature, of which his glory was merely a shadow?" and then he recommends me to reflect for a moment, on what the term glory implies; "understood either of praise or grandeur, it is merely the reflection or indication of a glorious nature." I have reflected, for some years past, and do now seriously reflect, on the divine nature, but I find it inconsistent with any idea I can admit of the eternal and unchangeable Almighty, that he should empty himself of his glory, (call it praise or grandeur, which you like,) though for a season, and should afterwards offer supplications for the same glory to himself, as if another being; addressing that other self as his own father; since God is often declared to have hardened the heart of man so as to disqualify them from perceiving his glory, instead of having degraded himself by setting aside his own title to praise, or the grandeur which is inherent in his nature.

The Editor adds, "If it was deserved glory, it was that of which his nature was worthy and the Father's giving it to him, when no being existed beside the *sacred three*, was the Father's attestation to the Son's eternal Godhead." If the Father's giving to Jesus deserved glory should be acknowledged as amounting "to his attestation to

* In John, xvii. 5. He had it (the same glory) with the Father before the world was, that is, in the Father's purpose and decree. In the language of scripture, what God determines to bring to pass, is represented as actually accomplished; thus, the dead are represented as living, Luke xx., 36-38. Believers are spoken of as already glorified, Rom., viii. 29. ~~30~~ Things, that are not, are called as though they were, Rom., iv. 17. And in verse 12 of this chapter, Judas is said to be destroyed, though he was then living, and actually bargaining with the priests and rulers to betray his Master. See also verse 10; Eph., i, 4; 2 Tim., i, 9; Rev., xiii. 8; Heb., x. 31. (Improved Version.)

the Son's Godhead," we must be under the necessity of admitting the attestation of Jesus to the eternal Deity of his apostles, from the circumstance of his having given them the *same deserved glory* ;— John, xvii. 22, "And the glory which thou hast given me I have given them," &c.

The Editor twice says, that "Micah informs us that the Son is from everlasting." I wish he had mentioned the Chapter and verse to which he alludes, that I might have examined the passage.

He perhaps alludes to the phrase "everlasting," found in the English version, in Micah, v. 2 : "Out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." I will therefore, quote Parkhurst's explanation of the original Hebrew word עָלָם which is translated in the English version "everlasting;" and then notice the translation of this very Hebrew word, in many other instances, by the authors of the English version; and lastly, I will repeat the context, that my readers may be able to Judge whether any stress can be laid on the phrase alluded to by the Editor—First, from Parkhurst's Hebrew and English Lexicon, עָלָם and עִכּוּם עִכּוּם are used both as nouns and particles, for time hidden or concealed from man, as well indefinite, Gen., xvii. 8; 1 Sam., xiii. 13; 2 Sam., xii. 10, and eternal, Gen., iii. 22, Psalm, ix. 8, as finite, Exod., xix. 9; xxi. 6; 1 Sam. i. 22, compare verse 28, 1 Sam. xxvii. 12; Isaiah, xxxii. 14; as well past, Gen., vi. 4, Deut., xxxii. 7; Josh., xxiv, 2; Psalm xli. 14, cxiii. 3; Prov. viii. 23, as future. It seems to be *much more frequently* used for an *indefinite* than for *infinite*, time. Sometimes it appears particularly to denote the continuance of the Jewish dispensation or age, Gen., xvii. 13, Exod., xii. 14, 24, xxvii. 21, and *al freq.*, and sometimes the period of time to the Jubilee, which was an eminent type of the completion of the Jewish and typical dispensation, by the coming and death of Christ." Secondly, the author of this Lexicon (though devoted to the cause of the Trinity) gives the translation of the term עִילָּם found in Micah, v. 2. In the course of explaining the force of the word יְעַמֵּד says he, "Micah, v. 1, or 2, וּסְעוּדָיו and his (the Messiah's) goings forth have been from of old, שְׁמֵר עִילָּם from the days of antiquity." Thirdly, from the English version, Isaiah, lxiii. 11, "Then he remembered the *days of old*," or עִילָּם exactly as is found in Micah, v. 2. 1 Sam., xxvii. 6, "Those nations were of old," for the same Hebrew term עִילָּם. Deut., xxxii. 7 "Remember the *days of old*," for the

same Hebrew word, Gen., vi. 4, "Which were of old, men of renown," for the same term עֹלָם. Psalm, lxxvii. 5, "I have considered the days of old, and the years of ancient times" Here the term קָדָם which is rendered in Micah, v. 2, "of old," and the term עִילָם translated in the same verse "*everlasting*," are both mentioned. Fourthly, the context is verses 2—4 : "Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting : therefore will he give them up, until the time that she which travaileth had brought forth ; then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel : and he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of the Lord his God," &c. Can the phrases, "*his God*," "*in the strength of the Lord*," and "*his brethren*," be consistently used for one who is the everlasting God ? If so, how can we reconcile to our understanding the idea of the everlasting God's reigning in the strength of another, having the Jews as his brethren, and looking up to another superior, who is designated by "*his God* "? If a body of men, distinguished for their talents, learning, and situation in life, from time to time, be determined to support their long-established inventions, in defiance of scripture, reason, and common sense, how can truth make its appearance when so violently resisted ? In fact, verse 2 of Micah thus correctly stands : "Out of thee (Bethlehem) shall he (the last expected Messiah) come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose sources of springing forth have been from of ancient, from the days of old."

The Editor advances, that "even son" implies an equality in nature with the Father — certainly it does so, when referred to one carnally begotten, but otherwise, it signifies a distinguished creature 1 Chron, xxviii. 6 : "And he said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts : for I have chosen him to be *my son*, and I will be his *father*." Job i. 6 : "When the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord," &c. Is Solomon, because he is called a son of God, to be considered a partaker of the divine nature ? Are the angels, designated "*the sons of God*," considered

¹ These are the seed of Abraham and that of David, through which God declares, by the mouths of the ancient prophets, that he will raise the Messiah to save the world — *Vide Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon*, "3, The place whence any thing comes Job., xxviii. Isaiah, liviii. 11, Psalm lxxv. 9, lxxv. 7 ; in which last passage, סְרֻעָה נָעַמְתָה is used for that part of the heavens whence the solar light נָעַמְתָה cometh forth, i. e. the east. *Comp Psalm xix. 6, 7*" Parkhurst also rejects the popular meaning, saying, "Not his Messiah, eternal generation from the Father, as this word has been tortured to signify."

to be of the same nature with the Deity? The Editor, however, adds, (p. 594.) "Our author hints that in the sacred writings others have been termed the sons of God. this, however only proves, that Christ is, by nature, the son of God, while all others are the sons of God by adoption, or metaphorically" To establish Christ's being the only Son of God, he quotes Rom., viii. 32, in which Christ is termed God's own son; and John, i. 16, where he says, that "the Holy Spirit also terms him, not merely the only son, but the only-begotten son of the Father" I therefore quote here verse 32 in question, with the preceding verse of the same Chapter of Romans: "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also, freely give us all things?" Here St. Paul proves beyond doubt, the unlimited mercy of God towards men, as manifested by his appointment of his own Son, to save mankind from death, at the risk of the life of that son, without limiting the honour of a spiritual birth to Jesus, and denying to others the same distinction who, in common with Jesus, enjoy it according to unquestionable sacred authorities. Deut., xxxii. 18: "Of the Rock that *begat* thee thou art unmindful." Exod., iv. 22: "*Israel is my son, even my first-born.*" 2 Sam. vii. 14: "I will be his (Solomon's) father, and he shall be *my son*. If he commit *iniquity*, I will *chasten him* with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men." Did St. Paul mean to destroy the validity of these, as well as of many other texts to a similar effect, by representing Christ as the *only* being distinguished by the title of Son of God, and excluding angels, Adam, Israel, Solomon, and David, from this spiritual dignity? I firmly believe he did not.

If a king who had several children, sent one of them to fight battles against those who committed depredations on his subjects, and his son, so sent, gained a complete victory in that war, but with the loss of his own life; and if, with a view to exalt or magnify the attachment of this sovereign to his people, one of his subjects declares that his sovereign was so deeply interested in the protection of his people as to send his own son, even the most beloved, to repel the enemies at the hazard of his life, and that he had not spared his own son in securing the lives of his people--does he confine the royal birth to that son, or does he degrade other sons of the king from that dignity? I beg my readers will read Rom., viii. 31, 32,

and reflect upon their purport. Besides, we find in the original Hebrew, Gen., i. 27, "God created man in *his image*," and in the English version, "*in his own image*."

Did the original writer of Genesis mean, that God created man in some fictitious or adopted image resembling that of God? Did the authors of the English version violate the original construction by adding the word "*own*," to the phrase "*in his image*?" Or did they add it only for the energy of expression? Psalm, lxvii. 6: "God even our *own* God, shall bless us." Does the writer here exclude God from being the God of the world, by the use of the word *own* in the verse, against the declaration of Paul? Rom. iii. 29: "Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also." Or does he use this word to shew the Israelites' especial attachment to God? In 1 Tim. i. 2, Paul uses the expression, "*Timothy, my own son in the faith*." Did he thereby exclude his thousands of spiritual disciples from being his sons in the faith?

In reply to his allusion to John i. 16, in which Jesus is said to be "the only-begotten Son of the Father," I beg to refer the Editor to Heb. xi. 17: "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only-begotten son." Whence he may perceive that the phrase "only-begotten," implies only most beloved among the children, as Abraham had, at that time, another son beside Isaac, namely, Ishmael, by Hagar, given to him as his wife, Gen. xvi. 3, 15. Were we to take the word of John, "only-begotten," in its literal sense, in defiance of Heb. xi. 17, we must discredit the express word of God, declaring Israel his begotten and first-born son, and describing David to be his begotten son.

It is worth noticing, that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews applies the last phrase, "begotten son," in an accommodated sense, to Jesus, Heb. i. 5; I say in an accommodated sense, since in Psalm li. 7, it is David that declares, during the prosperous time of his reign, "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art *my son, this day* have I begotten thee." Besides, how can the orthodox Christians, who consider Jesus as the begotten Son of God from eternity, with consistency maintain the opinion, that God had begotten him, at a particular day, during the reign of David? They may, perhaps, apply some of their mysterious interpretations to this passage of the Psalms; but they will, of course, in that case, pardon my inability to comprehend

them. I will not return to the subject of Rev. i. 8, and Heb. i. 10, though the Editor recurs to them in this place.

As to his frequent repetition of such phrases as "Jesus is Jehovah God," "a tremendous being in his wrath," &c., I only say, they are best calculated to work upon the minds of those that are brought up in the notion of the Trinity, but do not carry any weight with them in an argument subject to the decision of an enlightened public.

I asserted in my Second Appeal, that Jesus removed the doubt that arose with regard to the sense in which the unity should be taken in John x. 30, ("I and my father are one,") by representing the unity so expressed to be such as he prayed might exist amongst his apostles, which was, of course, the unity of will and design, and not identity of being, as is evident from John xvii. 11, "that they may be one as we are," and verse 22, "that they may be one even as we are one;" on which the Editor makes the following remarks :

"The declaration, John xvii. 22, 'that they may be one even as we are one,' was made at a time, and to persons totally different from that in John x. 30, 'I and my Father are one,' the latter was made to the gainsaying Jews, and the former in prayer to his heavenly Father; nor is there the least hint given that any doubt had arisen among the disciples respecting the expression 'I and my Father are one.' "

It astonishes me very much to meet with a new rule laid down by the Editor, that no commentary upon, or explanation of a passage or phrase by the author of it, can have any weight, if it is made or given at a subsequent period in the course of a solemn prayer to God, or before a body of new hearers, without an express declaration of their doubts as to the meaning of it. If this rule stand good, many commentaries and notes by authors on their respective works must cease to be of use, and the universally adopted rule, that passages of Scripture should be explained by their reference to one another, must be annulled. In ch. x. 30, "I and my Father are one," Jesus declares unity to subsist between himself and God; and in ch. xvii. 11 and 22, by praying that "they (his disciples) may be one, as he and the Father are one," he explains that the unity between him and the Father was of the same kind as that which he prayed to be granted to his disciples; hence by the unity so prayed for, cannot be meant anything else than unity of will and design. Although that unity may not be of the same degree that subsisted

between him and the Father, yet the force of the conjunction "as" shews that it is of the same kind.

Jesus could not mean in praying for his apostles, verse 11, an unity in nature among them, whence we might have inferred unity in nature between him and his God ; since they were long before this prayer created in the one human nature ; nor could he pray for a renewed spiritual nature to be given to them, (as the Editor thinks to be the case), because they were already endued with that spiritual union, as is evident from the passage of the very chapter, (xvii. 6, 8, 16 22), "They have kept thy word."—"And have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst *send me*."—"They *are not of the world, even as I am not of the world*."—"The glory which thou *gavest me, I have given them*." Besides, unity in spiritual nature is not the same kind of unity which subsists between the individuals of one nature.

Supposing unity of nature existed between God and Jesus Christ, (as the Editor believes,) in the same manner as it is found in one begotten by a man or animal and his parents, and that Jesus actually meant by the words, "my Father," in verse 30, to affirm God to be his real Father, would it not be quite idle in Jesus to have declared, that he as a Son was of the same nature with his Father, instead of saying that he was a Son entertaining the same will and design with his Father, since the former circumstance is natural and obvious, but the latter is not always found to exist, as we daily find among the children of men? Were the circumstance of one's calling God his Father received as a proof of his being actually the son of God, and, of course, of his unity in nature with the Deity, we must consider David as a real son of God, and of the same nature. Psalm lxxxix 29 : "He shall cry unto me, Thou art **my FATHER**, my God, and the rock of my *salvation* ;" and we also must esteem Israel one in nature with God ; (Jer. iii. 4, "Wilt thou not from this time cry unto me, **My FATHER**, thou art the guide of my youth ?") We must even admit all Christians to be one in nature with the Father of the universe, for we are taught to pray to **OUR FATHER** in heaven, Matt. vi. 9. See also verses 1, 4, 6, 8, 14, 15, 18, and 32 of the same chapter. John xx. 17 : "My Father and your Father," &c. 2 Cor. i, 3 : "The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and "the Father of mercies," &c. To enable my readers to take a clear view of this passage, I here quote the context, as well as the note found in the Improved Version upon it

Vers. 29, 30 : "My Father, who gave them me, is greater than all : and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand. I and my Father are one :" that is, "To snatch my true disciples out of my hand would be to snatch them out of my almighty Father's hand ; because 'I and my Father are one ;' one in design, action, agreement, affection. See ch. xvii. 11, 21, 22. 1 Cor. iii. 8 : 'Now he that planteth, and he that watereth are one.' " (Improved Version.) Both in the Scriptures, and in ordinary composition, unity, when referred to two substances, implies invariably perfect concord of will, or some other qualities and by no means oneness of nature,—a fact which my readers will perceive by a slight attention to the common usage of language, and also to the following verses :—Gen. ii. 24 : "And he (the husband) shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be *one flesh*." Ezek. xxxvii. 19 : "I will take the stick of Joseph, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them *one* stick, and they shall be *one* in mine hand." 1 Cor. x. 17 : "For we being many are *one* bread, and *one* body ; for we are all partakers of that *one* bread."

I never amused myself with the thought that Christ did "pray that his disciples might be one with him and his heavenly Father," nor did I ever rejoice at the idea that Jesus, "a man approved of God," was one in nature with the invisible Most High ; I only observed in my Second Appeal, that if Trinitarian authors succeeded in their attempt to prove the deity of Jesus Christ from a perverted interpretation of such phrases as "the Father in me, and I in him" ;—"he dwelleth in God, and God in him ;" they would unavoidably increase the number of the persons of the Godhead much beyond three, since similar expressions are frequently found applied to the disciples of Jesus. John xiv. 20: "At that day ye shall know, (addressing himself to his disciples,) I am in my Father, and ye *in me*, and I *in you*." Ch. xvii, 21 : "Thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be *one in us*." John vi. 56 : "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." 1 John iv. 15 : "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth *in him*, and he *in God*." 2 Peter i. 4 : "That by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature."

The Editor seems displeased at my having declined to submit indiscriminately to my countrymen the whole doctrine of the New Testament, because certain passages therein, having undergone

human distortions, occasion much dispute. I therefore beg to refer him to another portion of this Essay, as well as to all church history, which shew that my plan was conformable to the example laid down by the apostles and primitive Christians, who used to accommodate their instructions to the gradual progress of their followers.

In answer to his question, "How was it that I did not feel struck with the absurdity of a creature's creating all things," &c.? I beg only to reply by another question, viz. How does the Reverend Editor justify the idea, that one who was in the human shape, possessed of human feelings, and subject to the calls of nature, was the very God whom he defines as existing for ever, immaterial, invisible, and above all mortal causes or effects?

The Reverend Editor says, that nothing can be more incorrect than my assertion, p. 130, that Jesus in John x. disavowed the charge of making himself God:—after having borne the fullest testimony to his equality with God in chapters v. and viii., at length prevaricates and retracts for fear of death." I therefore refer to chapters v. and viii., and now ask the Editor whether he calls the following saying of Jesus, found in chapters v. and viii., the fullest testimonies to his equality with God? "The Son can do nothing of himself." "For the Father loveth the Son, and *sheweth him* all things that himself doeth." "So the Son quickeneth whom he will; for the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life." "So hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, hath given him authority." &c. "I can of mine ownself do nothing." "I seek not *mine own will*, but the will of the Father who hath sent me." For the works which the Father hath given me to finish," &c. "I am come in my Father's name." Ch. viii: "But he that sent me is true." "I do nothing of myself, but as my Father hath taught me I speak these things." "But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God." Neither came I of myself, but he sent me." "I seek not mine own glory." "I know him (God) and keep his saying." Do these testimonies amount to the equality of Jesus with his God and Father? If so, the Editor must have in view a definition of the term "equality" quite different from that maintained by the world.

^o As to John v. 23, I beg to refer my readers to the subsequent chapter of this Essay, here I will examine the same verse fully.

I at the same time entreat the Editor to point out a single verse in either of these two chapters containing a proof of the equality of Jesus Christ with God, setting in defiance all the phrases I have now quoted from these very chapters. After reflecting upon the above cited phrases, the Editor will, I hope, spare the charge, that Jesus "at length prevaricates and retracts for fear of death;" for, his disavowal of deity in ch. x. 36, was quite consistent with all the doctrines and precepts that he taught in the evangelical writings, (*Vide* the whole of the four Gospels.)

The Editor then adds, "the confession, (in x. 34—36,) which our author terms a disavowal of deity, was the very confession for which they sought again to take him, because they still thought he made himself God." I am, therefore, under the necessity of quoting the context, to shew that the Jews seemed appeased at the explanation given by Jesus himself, as to their misunderstanding of him, and that they sought again to take him on account of another subsequent assertion of his. The context is, (32) "Many good works have I shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me?" (33) The Jews answered him, saying, For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God. (34) Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said ye are gods? (35) If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, (and the scripture cannot be broken,) (36) Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said I am the Son of God? (37) If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; (38) but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, " and I in him. (39) *Therefore* they sought again to take him, but he escaped out their hand." Does not Jesus here appeal to scripture, on the ground that if the sacred writings, every assertion of which is but true, are justified in calling magistrates and prophets gods, and that the Jews in reading the Scriptures styled those superiors by the epithet gods, in conformity to their Scriptures, they could not in justice accuse him, the sanctified Messiah of God, of blasphemy, for his having called himself only

* I have already in a preceding page (440) stated that such a phrase as "one is in another, and the other is in him," implies in scriptural language only unity in design and will, as it is frequently applied to the apostles in reference to God, and to their Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

the Son of God? Does not Jesus here justify the use of the phrase "Son of God," for himself, in the same metaphorical sense that the term "gods" was used for the magistrates and prophets among Israel? If so, he of course relinquishes his claim to the use of the phrase "God," and "Son of God" in its real sense. If a commoner, who holds a high situation under government, suffers himself to be called "honourable" and, consequently, be accused of presumption in permitting himself to be designated by that title, on the ground that he was not actually the son of a nobleman, would he not justify himself against this charge by saying, "You call all the judges Lords in their judicial capacity though they are not noblemen by birth; yet you charge me (who hold a more dignified situation than the judges) with arrogance, because I suffer myself to be addressed as 'honourable'—a title which the children of noblemen enjoy"? In following the example of Jesus, I now appeal to scripture, and also to common sense that my readers may judge thereby whether verses 34—36 contain a confession of Godhead, or a disavowal of deity, made by Jesus himself.

It is not only a single instance in which Jesus omitted to correct the Jews in their misconceiving the phrase, "The Father is in me, and I in him." (verse 38,) but in many other instances he left them in ignorance. (John iii. 19, 21.) When Jesus told the Jews to destroy the temple, that he might raise it again in three days they misunderstood him, and supposed that he intended to raise the temple of Jerusalem, and, found fault with him, from this misconceived notion, before the high-priest. John ii. 21 "But he spake of the temple of his body;" as well as John vii. 34—36, viii. 21, 22, as I noticed before in pages 333, 425. The Editor, lastly, says that "Jesus at last chose to die under this very charge, rather than clear up the mistake, if it was such. This was their last and grand charge: 'We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God,' which they esteemed blasphemy worthy of death." The Editor must be well aware that the Jews had such an inveterate enmity against Jesus, that they not only charged him with what they found in him contrary to their law, but even with wilful exaggerations. John v. 15. "The man departed and told the Jews, that it was Jesus who had made him whole." Ver. 16; "And therefore did the Jews persecute him, (Jesus,) and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the sabbath day." (To perform

a cure on the sabbath day is supposed by the Jews to be a breach of the traditions of the elders, and not a crime worthy of death ; yet they sought to kill Jesus under that pretence.) Ver. 17 : "But Jesus answered them. My father worketh hitherto, and I work. (18) Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." Although the Jews in their own defence, called God their Father, without subjecting themselves to the charge of blasphemy, (John viii. 41, *We have one Father, even God,*") yet they sought to kill Jesus on the false ground, that he equalized himself with God by calling God his father. It is worth observing, that, lest the Jews should infer his independence in doing miracles, and wrest his words from the purpose, (" My Father worketh hitherto, and I work ") Jesus firmly avows his entire dependence on God in whatever he had performed, in verse 19, ("Verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself," &c.,) and also in the following verses, in so much that the Jews, being unable to find any plea for his destruction, remained quiet, and left Jesus in peace. (*Vide* the whole of ch. v.) In Luke xxiii. 2, the Jews charged him with having perverted the nation by representing himself as their king, and having forbidden to give tribute to Cæsar : a charge which was full of misrepresentation.

Let us return now to the text quoted by the Reverend Editor : "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the *Son of God*;" — whence it is evident, that, notwithstanding the great hatred which the Jews entertained towards our Saviour, and the misrepresentation they were guilty of in their accusation against him, the severest charge which they preferred under the pretence of religion was, that "he made himself the Son of God," and they would have, of course, accused him of having made himself God, to Pilate, whom they found inclined to release Jesus, and in presence of the multitude, this being better calculated to excite the wrath of the latter and horror of the former. had the Jews ever heard him declare himself God, or say anything that amounted to his claim to the Godhead. The high-priest and other chief accusers knew very well that their people were taught to consider God as their Father, and to call themselves the children of the Most High (correctly speaking, the *sons* of the Most High, Psalm lxxxii. 6) ; and this idea was so familiar among them, that Jesus also admitted them to be the particular

children of the Deity. Mark vii, 27 ; " But Jesus said unto her, Let the children first be filled," &c.

The Editor says, (page 597,) that " our author queries on what principle any stress can be laid on the prophetic expression quoted in Heb. i. from the Psalms, ' Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' We reply merely on this principle, that it is spoken by God, who cannot lie." Are not these words also, " Ye are gods," spoken by Him who cannot lie ? Is not the very verse of Hebrews, " Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," applied originally to Solomon by Him who cannot lie, and, in an accommodated sense, to Jesus by the apostle ? I will not introduce the subject again, it having been noticed in page 344. The Editor expresses his astonishment at what I say in Second Appeal, that the phrase " for ever " must mean a limited time when referred to an earthly king or a creature, and therefore it carries no weight in proof of the deity of Jesus when applied to him. The reason which he assigns for his surprise is. How could I take this phrase in a finite sense when applied to Jesus, the eternal Jehovah ? Did not the Editor feel astonished at the idea that he employs the application of the phrase " for ever " in his attempt to prove the deity of Jesus, and then employs the circumstance of the eternal deity of Jesus, for the purpose of proving that infinite duration is understood by the phrase " for ever," when referred to Jesus ?

As he admits that " for ever " when referred to a creature implies a limited time only ; he, therefore, must spare this phrase, and try to quote some other term peculiar to God, in his endeavour to establish the deity of Jesus.

The Editor says, that the expression of Jesus to Mary, (John xx. 17,) " Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God," was merely in his human nature. I wish the Editor had furnished us with a list, enumerating those expressions that Jesus Christ made in his human capacity, and another shewing such declarations as he made in his divine nature, with authorities for the distinction. I might have, in that case, attentively examined them as well as their authorities. From his general mode of reasoning, I am induced to think, that he will sometimes be obliged, in explaining a single sentence in the scriptures, to ascribe a part of it to Jesus as a man, and another part to him in his divine nature. As for example, John

v. 22, 23: "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him." The first part of this sentence, "hath committed all judgment unto the Son," must have been (according to the Editor) spoken in the human nature of Jesus Christ, since the Almighty, in exercising his power, does not stand in need of another's vesting him with that power. The second part of the same sentence, "all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father," must be ascribed by the Editor to Jesus as God, he having been worthy to be honoured as the Father is. And the last part, "which hath sent him," relates again to Christ's human capacity since it implies his subjection to the disposal of another. Is this the internal evidence of Christianity on which the orthodox divines lay stress? Surely not.

As to the exclamation of Thomas, (John xx. 28,) "My Lord and my God!" It is neither a confession of the supreme deity of Jesus by him, nor is it a vain exclamation, since it is evident, from verse 25, that Thomas doubted Christ's resurrection without any reference to his deity; and that, when he saw Jesus and the print of the nails, he believed it, and being struck with such a circumstance, made the exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" according to the invariable habits of the Jews, Arabs, and almost all other Asiatic nations, who, when struck with wonder, often make exclamations in the name of the Deity; and that Jesus, from these apparent circumstances, and having perceived his heart, says, "because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed," (verse 29); by which Jesus acknowledges the belief of Thomas in the fact which he doubted in verse 25, that is, his resurrection; for the subject in question, as it stands in the context, has no allusion to the deity of Jesus; and the form in which a confession is made, is totally different from that of exclamation, both in the scriptures and in ordinary language. How can Thomas be supposed to have meant to confess the deity of Jesus in a mere exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" without adding some phrase conveying confession, such as "Thou art" my Lord and my God, and "I believe you to be" my Lord and my God? I beg that my readers will attentively refer to the context, and to the common habits of Asiatics on occasions similar to this, and form their opinion respecting this subject. The Editor

quotes Matt. v. 37, which, with its context, forbid all sorts of swearing; but what relation this has to the exclamation of Thomas, John xx. 28, I am unable to discover.

The Editor quotes six passages from the Gospel and the book of the Revelations, four of which I have already examined, and I notice now the remaining two verses. First, John i. 1: "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God." By the first sentence, ("in the beginning was the word") the Editor attempts to prove the eternity of the son; by the second, ("the word was with God") his distinct personality; and by the third ("the word was God") his deity.

Let us first take this verse in its literal sense, and ascertain whether or not it is, in that case, intelligible. "In the beginning"—i. e. in the time—"was the word"—i. e. existed such a sound as was capable of conveying a meaning. "The word was with God"—i. e. this sound existed in the Deity, since no sound can exist of itself. "The word was God"—i. e. the word was the deity, or a deity, or being like other attributes of the Deity, it was divine. The whole verse thus stands: "From the Beginning the word of God, or Revelation manifesting his will and commandments, existed with him as God himself;" and by the same word God made or established all things; as the Jewish and Muhammadan as well as Hindoo theologians believe, on the authority of the words respectively acknowledged by them, that God made and established all things by his word only. (Vide Gen. i. 3, et seq.) And he communicated that Revelation to the world through Jesus Christ, (as testified beforehand by John the Baptist,) for the purpose of effecting the salvation of those that received and believed the authority of that Revelation. This is detailed throughout vers. 2—12.* In verses 13, 14, John expressly personifies "the word" in Jesus, as the bearer and deliverer of the Revelation: "The word was made flesh," (or the word was flesh,) "and dwelt among us," &c. To explain fully this metaphorical representation, John designates Jesus by this name, with the additional words "of life," once in his Epistle, 1 John i. 1, "The word of life," and with the additional words "of God," once in Rev. xix. 13, "His name is called the word of God;" whereby he manifests that Jesus, as the deliverer

* The reason for the use of the masculine gender in these verses, both in the original Gospel and in the English version, is obvious, as the original word *λόγος* signifying the "word," is masculine.

of the word of God, is called by that name, and not actually identified with the word, as otherwise might have been supposed from his Gospel, i. 1. John i. 1, is not the only instance in which an attribute of the Deity is thus represented as one with God; for the very same writer identifies love with the Deity, in 1 John iv, 8, 16, on the ground that love is of God, and is manifested in the world by him.

1 John iv. 7.

Secondly. I have to notice the orthodox exposition of the verse in question: they interpret the word "beginning," as signifying all eternity, and by the term "word," they understand Jesus the son of God; that is, from all eternity the son of God existed with God, distinct in person, and he was also God. The interpretation is, I presume, equally unscriptural, as it is revolting to the understanding, and for several reasons; First. As long as a passage can be consistently taken and understood in its literal sense, there can be no apology for taking it in a figurative one. Here we find no authority for identifying Jesus with the "word," or designating him by that term in any of the preceding Gospels; he is only figuratively so called in Revelation, by the name of "the word of God." Under these circumstances, to understand Jesus literally and so abruptly by the term "word," in John i. 1, (against the established doctrine of the Jews and the rest of the oriental nations,) and to assume this word as existent in the beginning, and as instrumental in the hands of God, in moral and physical creations, is entirely inadmissible. 2ndly. The Evangelist John, in his Gospel, uses the word "beginning" in a finite sense, and generally implying the beginning of the Christian dispensation, (John xvi. 4, xv. 27, viii. 25, 44, vi. 64, ii. 11,) and not once for "all eternity," Hence to understand the word "beginning" in an infinite sense, is opposed to the sense adopted throughout the whole of his Gospel. 3rdly. In the first verse of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," we find, in a similar connection, the same phrase, "in the beginning." Were we to follow the orthodox interpretation, and take it in an infinite sense, (i. e. from eternity God created the earth and heavens,) we should be compelled to profess the eternity of the world and become materialists. 4thly. To acknowledge the son to be the true God, and to have lived with the true God from eternity, destroys at once the idea of the unity of God, and proves beyond every question, the plurality of the Deity. For, if we see one real man living with another real man, though both of them

are one in nature and design, are we not compelled, by the ordinary course of nature, to apprehend the duality of man, and to say that, there are two men? Can orthodox ingenuity prove, that there are not two, but one man, or prevent the comprehension of the duality of man? If not, I wish to know whether, after admitting that the real God, the Son, exists with the real God, the Father, from eternity, the Editor can consistently deny the existence of two real Gods? 5thly. The exposition of the Editor must render John i. 1, directly contradictory of Deut. xxxii. 39, "I am he, and there is *no God with me.*" Here Jehovah himself expressly denies having another real God with him in the universe, for he is often said to have had fictitious Gods with him and, therefore, Jehovah's denial, in this verse, must be referred and confined to real Gods. Psalm lxxvii. 1: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the Gods." He then addressed himself to those nominal Gods of Israel, among whom he stood, "I said, *ye are God* (in verse 6). But we firmly believe that John, an inspired writer, could not utter anything that might contradict the express declaration of Jehovah, though the Editor and others, from a mistaken notion ascribe this contradiction to the Evangelist. 6thly. They thus render the last sentence of the verse "the word was God," without the indefinite article "a" before "God," while they translate Exod. vii. 1, "I have made thee (Moses) a God to Pharaoh," though, in the original Hebrew, there stands only the word **אלֹהִים** or "God, without the indefinite article "a" before it. If regard for the divine unity induced them to add the article "a" in the verse of Exodus, "a God to Pharaoh," why did not the same regard, as well as a desire of consistency, suggest to them to add the article "a" in John i. 1, "the word was a God"? We may, however, easily account for this inconsistency. The term "God" in Exodus is applied to Moses, the notion of whose deity they abhor; but as they meant to refer the same term in John i. 1, to Jesus, (whose deity they are induced by their education to support,) they leave the word "God" here without the article "a," and carefully write it with a capital G. Lastly. If eternity be understood by the phrase "In the beginning," in John i. 1, and Jesus Christ be literally understood by the "word," then we shall not only be compelled to receive Christ as an eternal being, but also his apostles; since Luke (ch. i. 2) speaks of himself and his fellow-disciples, as "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning."

Thirdly. I shall now quote the interpretation of this passage, by searchers after truth, who have been enabled to overcome their early-acquired prejudices. See Improved version, for which the Christian world is indebted to its eminently learned authors.

“*The Word.*” ‘Jesus is so called because God revealed himself or his word by him.’ Newcome. The same title is given to Christ, Luke i. 2. For the same reason he is called the Word of life, 1, John i. 1, which passage is so clear and useful a comment upon the proem to the gospel, that it may be proper to cite the whole of it. ‘That which was *from the beginning*, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have *looked upon*, and our hands have handled of the *Word of life*: for the *Life* was *manifested*, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and *shew* unto you that eternal *Life* which was *with the Father*, and was manifested unto us; that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you.’ By a similar metonymy Christ is called the Life, the Light, the Way, the Truth, and the Resurrection. See Cappe’s Dissert. Vol. I. p. 19.”

“*In the beginning.*” Or, from the first, i. e., from the commencement of the gospel dispensation or of the ministry of Christ. This is the usual sense of the word in the writings of this evangelist. John vi. 64, Jesus knew from the beginning, or from the first: ch. xv. 27, ‘Ye have been with me from the beginning.’ See ch. xvi. 14, ii. 24, iii. 11; also 1 John I. 1, ii. 7, 8; 2 John 6, 7. Nor is this sense of the word uncommon in other passages of the New Testament. 2 Thess. ii. 13, Phil. iv. 15; Luke i. 2.”

“*The Word was with God.*” He withdrew from the world to commune with God, and to receive divine instructions and qualifications, previously to his public ministry. As Moses was with God in the mount, Exod. xxxiv. 28, so was Christ in the wilderness, or elsewhere, to be instructed and disciplined for his high and important office. See Cappe, *ibid.* p. 22.”

“*And the Word was a God.*” ‘Was God.’ Newcome. Jesus received a commission as a prophet of the Most High, and was invested with extraordinary miraculous powers. But in the Jewish phraseology they were called gods to whom the word of God came. (John x. 35.) So Moses is declared to be a god to Pharaoh. (Exod. vii. 1.) Some translate the passage, God was the Word, q. d. it was not so properly he that spake to men as God that spake to them by him. Cappe, *ibid.* See John x. 30, compared with xvii. 8, ii. 16, iii.

34. v. 23. xii. 44. Crellius conjectured that the true reading was οὐετος, the Word was God's, q. d. the first teacher of the gospel derived his commission from God. But this conjecture, however plausible, rests upon no authority.

“Was in the beginning with God.] Before he entered upon his ministry he was fully instructed, by intercourse with God, in the nature and extent of his commission.”

All things were done by him.] ‘All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.’ Newcome; who explains it of the creation of the visible, material world by Christ, as the agent and instrument of God. See his notes on ver. 3 and 10. But this is a sense which the word *εγένετο* will not admit. *Τιλομαι* occurs upwards of seven hundred times in the New Testament, but never in the sense of *create*. It signifies, in this gospel, where it occurs fifty-three times, to be, to come, to become, to come to pass; also, to be done or transacted, ch. xv. 7. xix. 36. It has the latter sense. Matt. v. 18, vi. 8, xxi. 42, xxvi. 6. All things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ, i. e. by his authority, and according to his direction; and in the ministry committed to his apostles nothing has been done without his warrant. See John xv. 4 5, ‘Without me ye can do nothing.’ Compare vers. 7, 10, 16: John xvii. 8; Col. i. 16, 17. Cappe, *ibid.*’

Verse 14: “Nevertheless, the Word was flesh.” “Though this first preacher of the gospel was honoured with such signal tokens of divine confidence and favour, though he was invested with so high an office, he was, nevertheless, a *mortal man*.” Cappe. In this sense the word *flesh* is used in the preceding verse. ‘*Flesh*,’ says Mr. Lindsey, *Sequel to the Apology*, page 136, ‘is frequently put for *man*.—Psalm lxv. 2; Rom. iii. 20. But it frequently and peculiarly stands for man as mortal, subject to infirmities and sufferings; and as such is particularly appropriated to Christ here, and in other places. 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. i. 3, ix. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 18, iv. 1. οὐλογος οὐατος εγένετο, the Word was flesh, not *became* flesh, which is Newcome’s translation, or, was *made* flesh, which is the common version. The most usual meaning of *τιλομαι* is *to be*. In this sense *εγένετο* is used in this chapter, ver. 6: also in Luke xxiv. 19. ‘The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth of *εγένετο*, who *was*, not who *became* a prophet. See Cappe, p. 86: and Socinus in loc.’”

Now my readers may judge which of these interpretations of John i. 1 is consistent with scriptural authority and conformable to the human understanding.

The Editor denies, positively, the charge of admitting three Gods, though he is in the practice of worshipping God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. I could wish to know what he would say, when a Hindoo also would deny polytheism on the same principle that if three separate persons be admitted to make one God, and those that adore them be esteemed as worshippers of one God, what objection could be advanced, justly, to the oneness of three hundred and thirty-three millions of persons in the Deity, and to their worship in different emblems? For, oneness of three or of thirty millions of separate persons is equally impossible according to human experience, and equally supportable by mystery alone.

The second passage of John quoted by the Editor which I have not yet noticed is John xvi. 30: "Now are we sure that thou knowest all things." I admit that Jesus knows all things concerning his ministry and the execution of final judgment, but not those that bear no relation to either of them, as I noticed in pages 344, 393, and 407, since the phrase "all things," is very often used in a definite sense, both in the Old and New Testaments. In Joshua i. 17, when the people said. "We hearkened to Moses in all things," they meant, of course, things with regard to the divine commandments. So, in Matt. xvii. 11, Elias is said to have "restored all things," that is, all things concerning his office as the forerunner of the Messiah. In Mark xxiii. 23, Jesus said to his disciples, "I have foretold you all things," of course what respected their salvation. Eph. vi. 21: "Tychicus, a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things," of course belonging to their salvation. Besides, the scriptures inform us, that those who devote themselves to the contemplation of the Deity are endued with the free gift of knowing all things; but from this circumstance they are not considered to be elevated to the nature of God, nor numbered as persons of the Godhead. Prov. xxviii. 5: "They that seek the Lord, understand all things." 2 Tim. ii. 7: "And the Lord give thee understanding in all things." 2 Sam. xiv. 20: "And my Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth."

The Editor quotes Paul (page 598,) "God our saviour" and I Peter "the righteousness of God and our saviour Jesus Christ" and also

Jude 25, "to the only wise God our saviour." He intends perhaps to show, that as both God and Jesus are styled "Saviour," consequently Jesus is God. - I have fully noticed that several others, beside Jesus, were like him, appointed by God to save people from time to time, and named saviours in the scriptures; but that the use of this appellation does not serve to prove the deity of any of them. *Vide* pages 311 and 313.

The Editor expresses his ~~despite~~ of Hindu polytheism triumphing in his own pure profession. I wonder how it could escape the notice of the Editor that the doctrine of plurality in unity maintained by him, and that professed by Hindus stand on the same footing, since the Editor, as well as the Hindus, firmly declares the unity of God, while at the same time both acknowledge the plurality of persons under the same Godhead, although they differ from each other in the exact number. The following passage quoted by the Editor "the gods who have not made the heavens and the earth, shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens," is equally applicable to several of the divine persons of both parties.

In answer to the Editor's query, Where does the unity of mankind exist? I entreat to be allowed to ask the Editor, where the unity of the Godhead exists? If he say, that it is one divine nature that exists between the three sacred persons, I answer, that the unity of mankind is one human nature, and exists between so many individual persons.

In answer to his question, When were all mankind one even in design and will? I shall say that mankind has always been one, and shall be one even in will and design, in the glorious and prosperous reign of Christ; the present difference in will and design, or in rank and situation among its persons, does not preclude them from unity of nature, as the Editor himself admits that "one equal in nature to another may yet be subordinate in office." Besides, we find that the will of God the Father was sometimes at variance with that of God the Son. Matt. xxvi. 39: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will but as thou wilt." Mark xiv. 36: "And he (Jesus) said Abba, Father, all things are possible unto *thee*; take away this cup from me: nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt."

The Editor appeals to common sense, saying, that "she sees around her every day," that one man "equal in nature to another is

vet subordinate in office." She sees so indeed: but when she sees one man equal in nature to another, she reckons them two men, whether one is subordinate in office to the other or not. To this part of the evidence, I beg the Editor will pay some attention. It is indeed astonishing, that in all his illustrations the Editor brings the Godhead to a level with any genus, including various species under it, but feels offended if any one should observe this fact to him.

The Editor says, (page 601,) "Nor is it true that it was the constant practice of the Saviour to pray to the Father for the power of working miracles; for he never did them in his Father's name, as was the invariable practice of the ancient prophets." In reply to this, I only refer the Editor to John xi. 41, to Mark viii. 6, where we find Jesus had actually prayed to the Father in raising the dead, and breaking the bread; and especially to John xi. 42 in which Jesus, by saying "thou hearest me *always*," avows that during the whole period of his executing the commission, God *heard* his supplications, though in several instances of performing miracles he had not used verbally the name of God, in imitation of the practices of some of the ancient prophets. See 2 Kings v. 27 in which Elisha is said to have made Gehazi a leper without verbal supplication to God; and in chap. ii. 10, Elijah bestowed on Elisha his power of performing miracles, without praying verbally to the Most High. As to the Editor's assertion, that "he never did them (miracles) in his Father's name," I again refer him to John x. 25, "The works that I do *in my father's name*, they bear witness of me." Ver. 43: "I am come in my *Father's name*, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." Here Jesus rests his divine commission on the name of God, and rejects the claims of any one who comes in his own name. He certainly sent his disciples to work miracles in his own name, as the Messiah sent from God, that his apostles might procure faith in him from Jews and Gentiles, whereby they both might have their access to God through him. Matt. x. 40-42: "He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth *me* receiveth him that *sent me*. He that *receiveth* a prophet *in the name of a prophet*, shall *receive* a prophet's reward; and he that *receiveth* a righteous man *in the name of a righteous man*, shall *receive* a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of those little ones a cup of cold water only *in the name of a disciple*, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." These

shew evidently that man should be rewarded for any act that he may perform in the name of a disciple, even in the name of a righteous man. How much more is he to be approved in the sight of God if he acts in the name of the Messiah of the Most High!

I do not wonder at the idea of Christ's empowering his apostles to work miracles when we find other prophets doing the same at their own choice, as I have often noticed. The Editor says, "If it be declared in scripture, that the Father created all things by and for the Son, it proves only that the Son is equal to the Father," and that the passages, 'he hath given to the Son to have life in himself,' 'the first born of every creature,' "place the equality of the Son with the Father beyond all dispute." This must be a new mode of proof, invented for the support of the trinity, founded on mystery, far beyond my understanding. For if a creature's being endowed with life by, or employed as an instrument in the hands of another, puts them both on a footing of equality, then, in the Editor's estimation, the clay is equal to the potter; the rod with which Moses performed his miracles was equal to that great prophet; and Moses himself, by whom, and for whom, God exhibited so many wonderful works, was equal to the Deity.

CHAPTER V.

Remarks on the Replies to the Arguments found in Chapter the Third of the Second Appeal.

THE Editor now comes (p. 602) "to the last, and by far the easiest part of his work," that of meeting my objections to the seven positions formerly advanced in support of the deity of Christ. The first of these is, that Jesus was possessed of ubiquity, deduced from John iii. 13, "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, who is in heaven" The ubiquity of Jesus is, by the Editor, grounded on the phrase, "who is in heaven," found in the present tense, while Jesus was at that time on earth. I, in the first place, observed in my Second Appeal, (page 135,) that this argument might, perhaps, carry some weight with it, were not the frequent use of the present tense in a preterite or future sense observed in the sacred writings: and were not a great number of other passages to determine that the term "is," in this instance, must be understood in the past tense; and to support this assertion, I quoted several passages, a few of which the Editor has discussed, leaving the rest quite unnoticed. One of these is John viii. 58: "Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am" To weaken its force, the Editor says, "Why must this declaration, 'Before Abraham was I am,' be taken in a preterite sense? Because if it be not, our author's cause dries" No; but because it would bear no sense unless thus understood, "Before Abraham was, I was." The Editor further says, "Did the Jews, however, understand it thus? So far from it, that they esteemed it a decided declaration of Jesus's equality with the Father, and took up stones to stone him as a blasphemer." The Jews understood Jesus as declaring himself to be more ancient than Abraham which they first inferred from my assertion "Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad." (John viii. 56). But there is nothing in the context that can convey the least idea of the Jews having esteemed, the phrase "Before Abraham was, I am," a "decided declaration of Jesus's equality with the Father." or of their having, in consequence taken up stones to stone him. Nor can the circumstance of their attempt

to stone Jesus be considered as a proof of their viewing the above declaration respecting his priority to Abraham as blasphemy against God, for they sought to slay Jesus once on account of his having healed a man on the sabbath day, which they considered as a breach of their law, and not as a claim to equality with the Deity (John v. 16); and they wanted again to destroy Jesus merely from his affirming, "I know him, for I am from him, and *he hath sent me*" (John vii. 29, 30.); and finally from motives of political safety, as far as regarded their connection with the Romans. the Jews resolved to kill him. (John xi. 47, 48, 53).

The Editor says, that "Jesus himself, meek and lowly as he was, although he knew precisely in what sense they understood him, rather chose to work a miracle for his own safety, than to deny his divinity." From what I have just stated, and from all that I mentioned in pp 444, 425, it obviously appears that neither the Jews understood his deity from the assertion, "Before Abraham was, I am," nor was it usual with Jesus to correct them whenever they mistook his meaning. The Editor might further perceive, in John v. 20, and its context that Jesus, though charged with having a demon, omitted to correct fully their mistaken notion; and also, in John viii. 48, 49. that, on the Jews reproaching him with being a Samaritan, and with being possessed by a demon, the saviour only denied the second, and omitted to notice the former, which was the grossest charge that one Jew could ever prefer against another.

The Editor seems doubtful as to the force of the arguments he has adduced in turning the above verse to his purpose, as he thought it proper to have recourse to "the body of evidence previously adduced" in his attempt to prove "Christ's ubiquity;" but my readers may be able to judge, from a calm examination of this body of evidence, whether or not it has any weight in proof of the ubiquity of the son.

The Editor now lays down a rule for those instances where the present tense is used in the scriptures for the past, saying, "In poetry and sometimes in lively narrative, the present is, with strict propriety, used for the past, because the transaction is narrated as though passing before the reader's eyes." I therefore beg the Editor to explain, conformably to this rule, the instances I noticed (Second Appeal, pp. 135, 136) and numerous other instances. John xi. 8: "His disciples *say* unto him," instead of *said* unto him. Ver. 38: "Jesus *cometh* to the grave," that is, *came* to the grave. Ch. xiii. 6: "Then *cometh* he to

Simon Peter," that is, he ~~came~~ to Simon Peter. Do these come under the denomination of poetry or lively narration? If not, the Editor's rule must fall to the ground. If the Editor insists upon their being lively narration, because the circumstances are "narrated as though passing before the reader's eyes," how can we be prevented, in that case, from taking the assertion in John iii. 11, also for a lively narration, on the same ground, that the circumstances are narrated in the verse in question "as though passing before the reader's eyes," although Jesus had in reality meant by present the past tense?

The Editor further observes, that "it is a didactic discourse, on the clearness and accuracy of which depended the salvation of a man (Nicodemus) who had hazarded much in coming to Jesus for instruction." It is true that Jesus, as the greatest prophet of God, (or an omniscient being, according to the orthodox creed,) though well aware of the slow apprehension of Nicodemus, instructed him in a language far from being clear and comprehensible to him, both in the preceding and following verses. *Vide* verse 3: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Ver. 8: "So is every one that is born of the Spirit." Ver. 13: "No man hath ascended up to heaven but he that came down from heaven," &c. Ver. 14: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up"—foretelling him of his death on the cross by these ambiguous words. Nay, moreover, he, in his discourse with the Jews, and the multitude, very often expressed his ideas in such a manner, that not only the Jews, but his own disciples, mistook his meaning; but he always regulated his instructions as he was guided by his and our heavenly Father. It would be, therefore, presumptuous in us to lay down rules for his conduct, maintaining that "common humanity, therefore, demanded that in further discourse with him no word should be used but in its *direct and proper sense*."

In answer to his assertion, "If, then, he would only tell us how Jesus was regarded in those realms of light and truth previously to his descent on earth, he would himself settle this point,"—I beg to refer the Editor to such authority as no Christian can ever deny; I mean 1 Peter i. 20: "Who verily was *foreordained before the foundation of the world*, but was manifested in these last times for you." And also to 2 Tim. i. 9: "Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." If this plain-

explanation fall short of convincing the Editor of the real sense in which the pre-existence of Jesus and of his followers was meant, my endeavour to correct his notion on this head must be of no use.

In order to weaken the force of the argument I founded on John vi. 62, "The Son of man ascend up where he *was before*," shewing the absence of Jesus from heaven while he was talking to men on earth, the Editor quotes Gen. xi. 5, xviii. 33, in which Jehovah is stated to have moved from one place to another, though possessed of omnipresence. But the Editor overlooked, or thought it judicious to omit to notice, the real point of my argument in the Second Appeal, which I now repeat: "For the attribute of omnipresence is quite inconsistent with the human notions of the ascent and descent effected by the *Son of man*." It is not impossible for the omnipresent God that he should manifest himself wherever he chooses without violating his omnipresence; but the notion of occupying two very distant places at one time by a *son of man*, is, of course, contrary to the ideas acquired by human experience, unless this extraordinary circumstance be ascribed to the power of performing miracles bestowed on man by God.

Jesus, however, took every precaution in wording his discourse with Nicodemus, by the use of the term *man* in the very same verse, (13,) thus establishing his humanity; but, notwithstanding this, the prejudices of a great number of his followers have induced them to infer his ubiquity, and thereby his deity, from the same verse.

I will not recur to the examination of such passages as "who made all things," "who upholds all things," &c., alluded to here by the Editor, having often noticed them in the former part of this work.

Let us now come to the real point, and ascertain whether or not the word, in the original Greek, which is rendered "is" in the English version, in the phrase "who is in heaven," actually signifies the present tense, as a candid inquiry into this very point will bring us to a satisfactory decision at once. The word in the original is *ων*, a participle, and not a verb; and all that I said in my Second Appeal may be compressed into three remarks. In the first place, that the time of the participle is referred to the time of the verb found in the sentence; and to corroborate this opinion, I quoted Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek article, Part, i. p. 42, Note: "We are to refer the time of the participle to the time of the act, &c., implied in the verb; for past, present, and future cannot be meant otherwise

than in respect of that act."* And I also cited John i. 48, Οὐρα εἶδος σε, "I saw thee when thou wast;" literally, "I saw thee being," in which the present participle implies the past in correspondence with the verb εἶδον, or "I saw," found in the same verse. I now also beg the attention of the Editor to the common usage of almost all the languages that have the use of a present participle, in which he will find the participles generally referring to the time of the verb related to it. In English, for example, in the following phrase, "Being ill, I could not call upon you", the time of the present participle "being," refers, I presume, to the verb "could not call," implying the past tense.

In the second place, I quoted Levit. vii. 33, xiv. 47, in which the present participle is accompanied with the definite article, observing, that "these present participles are referred to a time present with respect to the Act of the verbs connected with them, but future, with respect to the command of God"—that is when the definite article is prefixed in Greek to a present participle, it has reference to the verb connected with it in an indefinite manner. So we find many instances in the New Testament similar to those quoted from Leviticus. In the third place, I said, "Moreover, we frequently find the present participle used in a past tense, even without reference to the time of the verb. John ix. 25: Τι φλος ἦν απὸ βλεψίου "Being blind, now I see;" that is, "Having been blind, now I see."

The Editor, omitting to notice the second and third arguments adduced by me, makes remarks only on the first, saying, that "were this criticism ('being in heaven, instead of 'is in heaven') perfectly correct, it would not be of the least service to our author, as, 'he being in heaven,' is precisely the same as, 'he who is in heaven.'" I positively object to the accuracy of this assertion of the Editor; for the verb "is," generally affirms an act or a state at the time present when spoken; but the present participle *ἦν*, or "being," even when preceded by the definite article *σε* or "the," implies time indefinitely, though the article *σε* is often rendered by a relative pronoun "who" or "which," and the participle by a verb; for the sake of elegance in English composition. I beg to refer the Editor first to those texts quoted in my Second Appeal. Levit. vii. 33 οὐ προσφέρειν—αὐτῷ οὐται οὐ δικιος, "The offering (person) for him shall be the

* The Editor has given, in p. 607, a quotation from Bishop Middleton, with some remarks of his own, but I am perfectly willing to leave it to the discerning reader to judge whether it corroborates my opinion or makes against it.

right shoulder." Although the participle "uttering" is found here in the present tense, yet it indisputably implies, that at any time in futurum in which the offering may be made, "the offerer shall be entitled to the right shoulder." Lev xiv. 47: 'Ο *εσθων*—πλυνεται *μετα αυτον* "The eating (person) shall wash his clothes." The word "eating," though found here in the present participle, preceded by the definite Greek article *o* signifies any part of the future in which the act of eating shall take place. The phrase, "*the eating*," (person,) is rendered in the English version "he that eateth," conformably to the idiom of the English language; but this change of construction does not produce any change in the real meaning conveyed by the original Greek. As this phrase, "he that eats," bears no allusion to the support of the doctrine of the Trinity, no one will, I presume, scruple to interpret it in its original sense; that is, he who eats at any time future with respect to the commandment of God, shall wash his clothes.

Secondly I refer the Editor to the passages we quoted in p. 608, to save me the trouble of selecting them. John iii. 4: "How can a man be born when he is old," literally, "being old;" that is, at any point of time, no man being old can be born. Ver. 15: "That no man believing on him should perish;" that is, no one who may be induced to believe Jesus at any time, even up to the last day, should perish. Ver. 18: "He not believing is condemned already;" that is, he who rejects me at any time, is condemned already in the divine decree. Ver. 20: "Every one doing evil hateth light," at any time whatsoever. Ver. 29 "He having the bride is the bridegroom," at any period of time. Ver. 31: "He being of the earth, is earthly," at any period of time. Again. ch. v. 3 In these lay a great multitude of folk impotent," &c. In the original Greek, the verb "to lie," is in the imperfect tense, and consequently the participle may be thus rendered, "Who were impotent up to that time." Ver. 5: "And a certain man was there, who had an infirmity thirty and eight years" In this verse the participle is not preceded by the article: this, however, signifies that a certain man had an infirmity when he was present at the pool—not at the time when St. John narrated this circumstance. But with a view to expose my argument to ridicule, the Editor puts his own words into my mouth, saying, (p. 608,) "In this chapter, ver. 4, we have, 'How can a man be born when he is old. literally, 'being old,' on our author's plan, 'having been old, and now not

being so ;'" and so on in all the above-stated verses. But I wonder how he could mistake what I have advanced in my Second Appeal in explanation of a present participle preceded by the article in the following words : " The offering (person) for him shall be the right shoulder :—the eating (person) shall wash his clothes. These present participles are referred to a time present with respect to the act of the verbs connected with them, but future with respect to the command of God." Now my reader may judge whether I confined the meaning of a present participle to the past tense, as the Editor, no doubt inadvertently, misrepresents my arguments.

Thirdly. I beg to refer the Editor to the translation of that verse by the celebrated Dr. Campbell : " For none ascendeth into heaven, but he who descended from heaven, the Son of man, whose abode is in heaven ;" in which the sense of the participle is referred to an indefinite time ; for, a person whose abode is in London, may have his temporary residence in Paris.

Forthly. I beg also to refer to the explanation of the article or before a participle, given by Parkhurst : " xi. With a participle it may generally be rendered by, *who*, *that*, *which*, and the participle as a verb. Thus 1 John ii. 4, ὁ λεγων, he who saith, i. e.. the (person) saying. John, i. 18, ὁ εστιν who is or was."

As to the assertion of the Editor, that where the time of the participle "being," found in the phrase "being in heaven," referred to the verb "to ascend up to heaven," it would completely prove the ubiquity of Christ, or involve perfect absurdity,—I presume there would be neither of these difficulties, in the event of the participle being referred to the verb mentioned in the verse ; for one's being in heaven, or having his abode in heaven, does not render his ascent to heaven impossible, nor does it tend to prove his deity. Let us apply these circumstances as they stand literally to Moses and Elias, who descended from their heavenly abode, and appeared with Jesus Christ to his apostles, (Matt. xvii. 3,) and again ascended, would it prove their ubiquity, or involve absurdity ? But is there anything more absurd than an attempt to prove the ubiquity of a son of man capable of occupying only a certain small space on earth ?

In reply to his assertion, that " when John wishes to describe a past state of action or being, he chooses some past participle," I only beg to remind him, that in the Greek language there is no past or

future participle for the verb *to be*, and, consequently, the present participle is used for those tenses under the specific rules.^o

As to the second passage which he quoted to demonstrate the ubiquity of Jesus, (Matt. xviii. 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,") I observed in my *Second Appeal*, "Is it not evident that the saviour meant here, by being in the midst of two or three of his disciples, his guidance of them when joined in searching for the truth, without preferring any claim to ubiquity? We find similar expressions in the Scriptures wherein the guidance of the prophets of God is meant by words that would imply their presence. Luke xvi. 29: 'Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.' No one will suppose that the expression is intended to signify that the Jews actually had Moses and the prophets in person among them, or that they could hear them speak, in the literal sense of the words; nor can any one deduce the omnipresence of Moses and the prophets from such expressions."

The Editor, to avoid entering into the main argument, puts the following questions, to which I shall now reply. 1st. "If Christ guided them, must he not have been with them for that purpose?" Yes, he has been with them in the same manner as Moses and the prophets have been with the Israelites, as is evident from the above-quoted passage of Luke, as well as from another which I shall now cite. 1 John iii. 24: "And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him: and hereby we know that he *abideth*

^o The true explanation of the verse is given in the IMPROVED VERSION, as follows: "Now no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he who came down from heaven,† even the Son of Man, [who is in heaven.]"[‡]

[†] "He who came down from heaven." This clause is correlative to the preceding. If the former is to be understood of a local ascent, the latter must be interpreted of a local descent. But if the former clause is to be understood figuratively, as Rajahelius and Doddridge explain it, the latter ought, in all reason, to be interpreted figuratively likewise. If 'to ascend into heaven,' signifies to become acquainted with the truths of God, 'to descend from heaven,' is to bring down, and to discover those truths to the world. And this text clearly explains the meaning of the phrase wherever it occurs in this evangelist. 'Coming down from heaven,' means coming from God, (see ver. 2.) as Nicodemus expressed it, who did not understand this of a local descent, but of a divine commission. So Christ interprets it ver. 17. ¹ See

[‡] "Who is in heaven." This clause is wanting in some of the best copies. If its authenticity is allowed, it is to be understood of the knowledge which Christ possessed of the Father's will. See John i. 18."

in us, by the spirit which he hath given us." 2nd. "If there were only two such little companies searching for the *truth* at the same moment, must he not have possessed ubiquity to guide them both?" I reply by two other questions. If the Jews of Galilee and of Jerusalem "have Moses and the Prophets" at the same time for their guidance, are Moses and the Prophets to be supposed to have been possessed of ubiquity? After Elijah went up to heaven, (2 Kings. ii. 11,) and his spirit was seen resting on Elisha, who remained on earth, (ver. 15,) does the circumstance of Elijah's being in heaven, and being with his servant Elisha on earth in spirit at the same time, prove the ubiquity of Elijah? 3rd. The Editor asks, "If he (Jesus) was with Christians to guide them, has he left them now?" I reply, neither Jesus nor Moses and the prophets have now forsaken those that sincerely search into truth, and are not fettered with early-acquired human opinions. 4th. "How, then, can he be the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?" My reply is, he has been the same in like manner as David has been, in "*keeping the law continually for ever and ever.*" (Psalm cxix. 44.) 5th. "Does our author need to be told that this meant the writings of Moses and the Prophets?" I reply, that this expression means their words preserved for ever by means of writing as the statutes of God. Psalm cxix. 152: "Concerning thy testimonies, I have known of old that thou hast founded them for ever." Ver. 89: "For ever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven." And Deut. xxxii. 1, Moses exclaims, "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth; my doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew," &c. 6th. "Did Jesus mean that they had his writings with them?" I reply, he meant, of course, that they had his lowly spirit, and his words, which were afterwards published and preserved in writing. 7th "Where were the writings of Jesus at that time?" I said not a word of his writings in my Second Appeal. Why the Editor puts this question to me, I know not. It is, however, evident, that Jesus himself, while on earth, like other prophets of God, never omitted to express his doctrines and precepts, which have been handed down in writing up to this day.

SECOND POSITION.

The Editor quoted Matthew xi. 27, "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him," to shew that Jesus

scribes to himself a knowledge and an incomprehensibility of nature equal to that of God. I consequently asked the Editor in my Second Appeal, "If he by the term 'incomprehensible', understands a total impossibility of being comprehended in any degree, or only the impossibility of attaining to a perfect knowledge of God?" If the former, we must be under the necessity of denying such a total incomprehensibility of the Godhead; for the very passage cited by the Editor declares God to be comprehensible not to the Son alone, but also to every one who should receive revelation from the Son; and in John xvi. 16, 17, Jesus ascribes to his disciples a knowledge of the Holy Ghost, whom the Editor considers one of the persons of Godhead, possessed of the same nature with God. But if the Editor understands by the passage he has quoted, the incomprehensibility of the real nature of the Godhead, I admit the position, but deny his inference that such an incomprehensibility proves the nature of the object to be divine, as being peculiar to God alone, for it appears evident that a knowledge of the real nature even of a common leaf, or a visible star, surpasses human comprehension. The Editor, although he filled one page (610) in examining that part of the reply, yet made no direct answer to the foregoing question, but repeats his inference from these passages, "that Jesus himself can comprehend the nature of the Father, and that his own nature is equally inscrutable;" but the verse in question does not convey one or other of these positions. As to the first, we find the latter part of the sentence ("neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him") declaring an exception to the general assertion made in the former part of it; ("neither knoweth any man the Father;") that is, the Son, and those to whom the Son reveals God, were the only individuals that knew the nature of the Father. Would not this exception be distinctly contrary both to the sacred authorities, and to common sense: as the scripture declares positively that the nature of God is incomprehensible to men? Job xxxiv. 26: "God is great, we know him not;" and common sense teaches us every moment, that if the real nature of the works of God is incomprehensible to the human intellect, how much more must the nature of God himself be beyond human understanding! As to the second, if the circumstance of the Son's declaring himself (according to the Editor) to be inscrutable in nature, be acknowledged as equalizing him with God, similar declarations by his apostles would of course raise them to the same footing

of equality with the Deity I John iii. 1 : "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not," corroborated by John xvii. 25, " O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee," &c. It is therefore, evident, that neither can an impossibility of comprehending God, in any degree, be meant by this passage, the apostles having known God by revelation ; nor can the comprehension of the real nature of God be understood by it, as such a knowledge is declared to be unattainable by mankind. The verse in question must be thus understood, as the meaning evidently is, "that no one but the Father can fully comprehend the object and extent of the Son's commission, and no one but the Son comprehends the counsels and designs of the Father with respect to the instruction and reformation of mankind. It is impossible that Jesus can be speaking here of the person and nature of the Father, for this he did not, and could not reveal, being essentially incomprehensible. Neither, therefore, does he mean the nature and person of the Son. What Christ knew and revealed 'was the Father's will ;' corresponding to this, 'that which the Father, and the Father only, knew, was the nature and extent of the Son's commission.'"

(IMPROVED VERSION).

THIRD POSITION.

As the Editor expressed his opinion that "Jesus exercised in an independent manner the prerogative of forgiving sin, which is peculiar to God," founding this opinion upon the authority of Mark ii, 5 Matt. ix. 2, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," I inquired in my Second Appeal, "Does not this passage, ('But when the multitude saw it they marvelled, and glorified God who had given such power unto men, Matt. ix. 8,) convey an express declaration that Jesus was as much dependent on God in exercising the power of forgiving sins, and healing the sick, as the other prophets who came forth from God before him ?" To which the Editor replies, " We answer, only in the opinion of the multitude, who knew him not, but took him for a great prophet."

I feel surprised at the assertion of the Editor, that it was the ignorant multitude, who knew not of the nature of Jesus, that made the following declaration " who had given such power to men ;" since it is the Holy Spirit which speaks by the mouth of the evangelist Matthew saying, ' when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power unto men.'

I wonder how the Editor could allow his zeal in support of the Trinity so far to bias his mind, that he has attempted to weaken the authority of the holy evangelist, by ascribing his words to the ignorant multitude of Jews. I wonder still more, to observe that, notwithstanding the Editor declares the apostles and primitive Christians, (whom he does not esteem as persons of the Godhead, but admits to be mere men,) to have been possessed of the power of pardoning sins through the influence of Jesus; yet he maintains the opinion, that none, except God, can forgive sins, even through the gift of the Deity himself.

The Editor says, "Not, however, in the opinion of the Scribes, who were better acquainted with their own scriptures, and who, although they glorified him not as God, could not restrain themselves from acknowledging the display of his Godhead by accusing him of blasphemy on that very account."

The Jews were so ill-disposed towards Jesus, that this is not the first instance in which they sought a pretence for destroying him under the charge of blasphemy; for in John v. 16, they resolve to slay him merely on pretence of his having healed a man on the sabbath day, as I noticed before; and, in chapter xii. 10, 11, they came to a determination, under the cloak of religion, to kill him and Lazarus also, whom Jesus raised after death, though they knew that many of their prophets raised the dead, without offending God or the people. And they also very frequently mistook his meaning. But Jesus often forbore to repel their charges, some instances of which I have already pointed out. As to Jesus's knowledge of the human heart, as far as it respects his divine commission and future judgment, and his power of performing miraculous deeds, even sometimes without verbal reference to God, having often noticed these matters I shall not recur to them here.

The Editor denies the apostles having been impressed with a belief, that it was the Almighty Father that empowered Jesus to forgive sins and to perform miracles. I therefore refer the Editor to the very phrase, "Who had given such power unto men," and to Acts v. 31, "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." xiii. 38, "Through this man (meaning the Saviour) is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins." Do not these verses shew, beyond a doubt, that Jesus received from God the power of forgiving sins on sincere repentance?

The Editor makes no direct answer to Luke xxiii. 34, in which Jesus prays to the Father for the pardon of the murder perpetrated by the Jews upon him, nor to Luke xi. 4, Matt. vi. 14, which I quoted in my Second Appeal. The Editor alludes to the importance of the expression, "That thy Son may glorify thee." But by referring to the Scriptures, he will find, similar terms are as common in the language of the Jews, in their address to God, as any other expressions of reverence for the Deity.

FOURTH POSITION.

With a view to substantiate his fourth position, that almighty power is claimed by Jesus in the most unequivocal manner, the Editor thus comments on the passage, John v. 19—36, quoted by me in my Second Appeal: "Jesus, when persecuted by the Jews, for having healed a man on the sabbath day, said 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' This provoked the Jews still more, because he had now said, that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." The Editor adds, "This observation shews us, that not only the Jews, but John himself, understood Christ's calling God his Father, to be making *himself* God." It would have been a correct translation of the original Greek, if the Editor had said, "making *himself* equal with, or like God," instead of "making *himself* God" (*vide* the original Greek). It is obvious, that one's calling another his Father gives apparent ground to understand that there is an equality of nature or likeness of properties between them, either in quantity or quality of power in performing works. But to know what kind of equality or likeness should be meant in ch. v. 18, we have luckily before us the following texts, in which Jesus declares, that his likeness with God consisted in doing what he saw the Father do, and quickening the dead; avowing repeatedly, at the same time, his inferiority to and dependence on God, in so plain a manner, that the Jews who heard him abstained from the measures of persecution that they had intended to adopt, although the Saviour continued to call God his Father, through the whole of the remaining chapter, in the hearing of the Jews. Nay, further, from the whole of his conduct and instructions, so impressed were the Jews with his dependence upon and confidence in the Father as his God, that when he was hanging on the cross they fixed upon this as a ground of taunt and reproach, saying, "He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him, for he said 'I am the Son of God.'" Matt. xxvii. 43.

The Editor then proceeds to say, "This (charge of equality) Jesus neither denies nor corrects, but adds, 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do,' which must necessarily be the case, if, as our author affirms, the Father and the Son are one in will and design." I ask the Editor, whether this be the language of one who is Almighty? If the Father and the Son be equally Almighty, why should the Son wait until the Father acts, and then imitate him? If a subordinate officer, having been accused of equalizing himself with his superior, thus declares, "I cannot march a single step myself—but where I see him march, I do march,"—would this be considered an avowal of his equality with his superior? My readers will be pleased to judge. The Editor then says, that "Jesus adds further, 'For whatever things he doth, these also doth the Son likewise;'" a more full declaration of equality with the Father cannot be imagined. How could the Son do whatsoever the Father doth, if he were not equal to him in power, wisdom, truth, mercy, &c.?" The Editor here omits to quote the very next line, "FOR the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth," in which the preposition "for" assigns reasons for the Son's doing what the Father doth; i. e. since the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him his works, the Son is enabled to do what he sees the Father do. To the Editor's query, "What finite being could understand all that God doth, if shewn him?" I reply, Divine wisdom will of course not shew anything to one whom it has not previously enabled to comprehend it. How could the following passages escape the memory of the Editor, when he put the question: Amos iii. 7, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets;" Psalm xxv. 14, "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant"? Did not they understand all that was shewn and revealed unto them? If they did, were they, in consequence, all infinite beings, as the Editor argues, from this circumstance, Jesus is?

The Editor proceeds to say, "Jesus adds, 'For as the Father quickeneth the dead, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.' Here, then, he declares himself equal with the Father in sovereignty of will as well as in almighty power." The Editor again omits a part of the sentence which runs thus: "So the Son quickeneth whom he will; FOR the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." Does not the latter part of the sentence shew clearly,

that the power which the Son enjoyed in quickening those whom he chose, was entirely owing to the commission given him by the Father? In order to weaken the force of verse 22, the Editor says, "The Father, however, whose it is equally with the son, commits all judgment to the Son, as the incarnate mediator between God and man, because he is the Son of Man." My readers may observe, that if Jesus received all power of judging men in his human nature, he must have quickened whom he pleased, as the consequence of that power, in his human capacity; how, then, could the Editor infer the deity of Jesus from one circumstance (quicken the dead) which entirely depends upon another, the power of judging,) enjoyed by him in his human nature? Lest it should be supposed that individual instances of the dead being raised by Jesus is here meant, I may just mention that he exercised this power in common with other prophets.

As to his assertion, that the work of judging mankind belongs, by nature, equally to the Son and to the Father, I only refer the Editor to Matt. xix. 28, and Luke xxii. 29, 30, in which the apostles are represented as invested with the power of judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel, and to 1 Cor. vi. 2, which ascribes the power of judging the world to righteous men; and I hope that the Editor will be convinced, from these authorities, that the "work of judging mankind" does not belong, by nature, to the Son and to the Father." He introduces, in the course of this argument, John viii. 58, and Rev. i. 8, which I have often examined in the preceding pages.

He at last comments on verse 23, "That all men should honour the Son as they honour the Father," saying, that "to this glorious declaration of the Son's Godhead, our author merely objects, that this means likeness in nature and quality, and not in exact degree of honour. But what are the nature and quality of the honour paid to God the Father? Divine honour of the highest kind and such as can be given to no creature." The phrases, "to honour God, and to adore God," are used in quite different senses; the latter being peculiarly applicable to God, but the former generally implying only such manifestation of reverence as one may bestow on his father, or on another worthy of respect. Mal. i. 6: "A son honoureth his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a Father, where is mine honour, &c.?" Here God requires the same kind of honour to be paid him as is due to a father. Does God here bring himself, in consequence, to a level with a parent? 1 Sam. ii. 30: "But now the

Lord saith, Be it far from me: for them that honour me, I will honour." — Here the manifestation of honour between God and men is reciprocal; but in any sense whatsoever, no worship can be reciprocally offered by God and his creatures. The Editor again advances, that "the fact is, that this phrase 'as,' really refers to degree as well as to nature; see Matt. xx. 14: 'I will give unto this last even as unto thee,' that is, precisely as much as one penny." I deny the accuracy of this rule of the Editor, since "as," in almost all instances, refers either to degree or nature, or to some kind of resemblance, a few of which I shall here notice. Gal. iv. 14, Paul says to the Galatians. "But received me *as an angel of God*, even *as Christ Jesus*." Did Paul permit the Galatians to receive him with precisely the same kind of honour, both in kind and degree, as was due to Christ Jesus? Matt. x. 25: "It is enough for the disciple that he *be as his master*, and the servant as his Lord," &c. Did Matthew mean here precise equality in kind and degree, between a disciple and his master, and a servant and his Lord? xix. 19: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour *as thyself*." Did the Saviour mean here, that precisely the same quality and degree of love, which one entertains towards himself, should be entertained towards others? Gen. iii. 22: "Behold the man is become *as one of us*." Did Adam then become, both in nature and degree, equally wise with the Omniscient God? Now, my readers will judge whether or not such a phrase as "men should, or may, honour the Son *as they honour the Father*," equalizes the Son, in nature and degree, with the father. As to the verse above-quoted, (Matt. xx. 14), it implies sameness in degree, and not necessarily sameness in kind, for the same sum may be given in different currency. The Editor quotes Heb. iii. 3, 4, in order to shew "in what sense the Prophet to be sent was like Moses." As I examined this verse in page 365, I will not recur to it again. I only remind the Editor of Deut. xviii. 15, 18, where he will perceive in what sense Jehovah himself drew a likeness between the Saviour and Moses, which passage is repeated in Acts iii. 22, and also of St. Matthew xvii. 3, as well as of Mark ix. 4, wherein they express a wish to manifest the same reverence to the Saviour *as to Moses and Elias*; but it is quite optional with the Editor to treat Moses in any manner he pleases.

In answer to his inquiry. "Why should it offend our author, that when the Son, for the suffering of death, took upon him the form of a servant, &c.,?" my reply is, that it does not offend me in the least; but

I must confess, that such an expression as "when God, for the suffering of death, took upon him the form of a servant," seems to me very extraordinary, as my idea of God is quite at variance with that of a being subjected to death and servitude.

The Editor overlooked several other passages, quoted by me, among which there was Matt. xx. 23: "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but to them for whom it is prepared of my Father."

He perhaps hesitated to rely on the sophistry used by the orthodox, that Jesus denied being possessed of almighty power only in his human capacity. The Editor, it is possible, perceived, that as the *gift* of all power to Jesus, mentioned in Matt. xxviii. 18, is explained by the orthodox of his human capacity; the *denial* of almighty power could not, therefore, be understood of that *very human nature* in which he is said to have possessed it.

FIFTH POSITION.

The Editor says, that "our author's objections to the fifth position, that Jesus's having all judgment committed to him, proves his omniscience, have been so fully met already, that scarcely anything remains to be added."

In answer to which, I have only to say, that the arguments adduced by the Editor having been previously noticed, it is therefore left to my readers to examine them, and to come to a determination whether they tend to prove the omniscience of the Son or not. The Editor, however, adds here, that omniscience is essential to the act of judging mankind. As I have already dwelt much on this subject in the preceding paragraph, I beg to refer my readers to them, wherein they will find that the Son's knowledge of the events of this world extends no farther than as respects the office of judging mankind; that others are declared to be vested with the power of judging the world as well as the Son; and that the Son positively denies his omniscience in Mark xiii. 32. The Editor concludes by saying, that "his (Father's) giving him 'to have life in himself,' refers wholly to his being the mediator in human flesh." It settles the question at once, that whenever and in whatever capacity Jesus is declared to have had life, he had it as a gift of the Father; and the object of our inquiry and reverence is the Son endowed with life, and not one destitute of it.

SIXTH POSITION.

The Editor begins by observing, that "to the sixth position, that Jesus accepted worship due to God alone, our author objects, 'That the word 'worship,' both in common acceptation and scriptural writings, is used sometimes as implying an external mark of religious reverence paid to God, and at other times as signifying merely the token of civil respect due to superiors; that those who worshipped Jesus did not believe him to be God, or one of the three persons of the Godhead; and Jesus, in his acknowledged human capacity, never prayed to himself, or directed his followers to worship or pray to him.' Granting that 'worship' in English, and *προστίνειω* in Greek, are sometimes used to denote civil respect, and that the worship paid by the servant to his master, Matt. xviii. 26, and by the people to David, meant merely civil respect, still the position is not touched in the least degree." The reason which the Editor assigns for this position not being touched, is, that "whether the blind man, the lepers, the mariners, and others, knew what they did in worshipping Jesus, is not so much the question, as whether Jesus knew; for if he suffered them, even through ignorance, to yield him divine worship, when Peter did not suffer it in Cornelius for a moment, unless he were God, he must have had less discernment or less piety and concern for the Divine honour than his own disciples." P. 618.

As the Editor agrees that the term "'worship, in English' and *προστίνειω* in Greek, are sometimes used to denote civil respect," it is of course necessary to ascertain whether the blind man, &c., knew what they did in worshipping Jesus: that is, whether they meant to bestow civil respect, or to offer religious reverence. But from all the local instances which I pointed out in the Second Appeal, it is evident that they, as well as Jesus, knew that they were manifesting civil respect only by worshipping him, in the same way as it is evident, from the circumstances of David's not declining to receive worship from the people and Daniel from king Nebuchadnezzar, that the people and king intended merely civil respect to them. As to Peter's rejection of the worship offered him by Cornelius, it may easily be accounted for, since, as Jesus was endowed with the power of knowing things connected with his divine commission, so Peter had the knowledge of secret events concerning his apostolic duty. From the language which the blind man and others used, and from his knowledge of

their thoughts, the Saviour, like other ancient prophets, gave a tacit consent to the worship (or, properly speaking, civil reverence) offered by them: while Peter rejected the worship offered him by Cornelius, knowing that he meant it as an external mark of religious reverence, which was due to God alone, as is evident from the language of Peter, "I myself am a man." Having already noticed the exclamation of Thomas I shall not recur to the subject in this place.

The Editor says, "Was Stephen (ignorant) when he committed to him his departing soul in language similar to that in which Christ on the cross had committed his spirit to the Father?"

The language of Stephen alluded to by the Editor, and that of Christ, bears little resemblance. Among the many expressions attributed to Jesus on the cross, none of them resemble the invocation of Stephen, except that given in Luke xxiii. 46, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" which is natural for every human being having any idea of God, or feelings of devotion on the approach of death. Stephen's exclamation (Acts vii. 59, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit") was merely an application to Jesus in preference to the angels of death, whom he expected to receive his soul and convey it to the bosom of the Divinity. The notion of angels of death receiving and conveying away the spirit at the time of dissolution, is familiar to the Jews, in common with other Eastern nations, as appears from their traditions, and from Prov. xvi. 14, "The wrath of a king is as messengers" (in the Hebrew, properly, "angels") "of death"—i. e. in a despotic country, the displeasure of the tyrant is equivalent to death. From Stephen's saying, that he saw "the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God," we may easily perceive the notion which he had formed of the nature of Jesus Christ.

As to Christ's offering prayers and worship to the Father, and directing his apostles to do so, the Editor attributes them to the "state of humiliation in which his infinite love to sinners had placed him." If Jesus deemed it necessary, in his human capacity, to offer up prayers, thanksgiving, and worship, to God the Father alone, notwithstanding he was *filled* bodily with God the Son, (according to the Editor,) and to direct his apostles to follow his example, is it not incumbent upon us also, in following his pattern, to thank, pray to and worship the Father *alone*, as long as we are human? But the truth is that the assertion of the Editor, attributing Christ's devotion

towards God to his human nature, is entirely unsupported by scriptural authority

The Editor further says, that if Jesus were not God the apostles, the primitive saints, and the angels in heaven, would be guilty of idolatry, and the Eternal Father of encouraging it.

To quit the Father and Jesus Christ of the charge of encouraging idolatry, and the apostles, and the saints, and the angels, of the sin of idol worship, it suffices to quote Matthew iv. 10, Αὐτῷ μονῷ λατρεύσεις “ Him only shalt thou serve.” This commandment of the Father of the universe, to be found in Deut. vi. 13, repeated and communicated to Christians by the most exalted among the prophets (who enjoins religious adoration to be offered to the Father alone) sufficiently vindicates God and his Christ from the above charge. The apostles so strictly observed this divine communication through their Master, under the Christian dispensation, that, throughout the *whole* New Testament, they applied exclusively to God alone this verb, λατρεύω, (rendered in the English version “*to serve*,”) and not once to Jesus, or to any other being in any book of the New Testament; while, on similar occasions, they used for him or others the verbs δουλεύω or διακονεύω, rendered also in the English version “*to serve*”, which tends no less to vindicate them. They further pronounce those who *serve* (from the verb λατρεύω) any one except God, to be rebels and idolators,—Rom. i. 25; Acts vii. 42. I now entreat the Editor to examine the subject, and, by following the example of the apostles and primitive saints, glorify a religion intended to be raised far above the debasement of idolatry

THE SEVENTH AND LAST POSITION.

The Editor having attempted to prove the deity of the Son, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, from the circumstance of their names being associated with that of the Father of the universe, I observed in my Second Appeal, that “a profession of belief in God is unquestionably common to all religions supposed to have been founded upon the authority of the Old Testament; but each is distinguished from the other by a public profession of faith in their respective founders, expressing such profession in a language that may clearly exhibit the inferior nature of those founders to the Divine Being, of whom they declare themselves the messengers.” “The Jews claim that they have revelation rendering a belief not in God alone, but in Moses also, incumbent upon them. Exod. xiv. 31:

' The people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses ' (to which Jesus also refers in John v. 45, ' There is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust '). If baptism were administered to one embracing Christianity, in the name of the Father and Holy Spirit, he would thereby no more become enrolled as a Christian than as a Jew or a Mohummudan ; for both of them, in common with Christians, would readily submit to be baptized in the name of God, or his prevailing influence over the universe ." I afterwards added, in the discussion respecting the Holy Spirit, that " God is invariably represented in revelation as the main object of belief, receiving worship and prayers that proceed from the heart through the first-born of every creature, the Messiah, (' No man cometh unto the Father but by me, ') and leading such as worship him in spirit, to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence, which is called the Holy Spirit (' When he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you unto all truth ') There is, therefore, a moral obligation on those who avow the truth of such revelation, to profess their belief in God as the sole object of worship ; and in the Son, through whom they, as Christians, should offer divine homage ; and also in the holy influence of God, from which they should expect direction in the paths of righteousness, as the consequence of their sincere prayer and supplication. For the same reason also, in publicly adopting this religion, it is proper that those who receive it should be baptized in the name of the Father, who is the object of worship ; of the Son, who is the mediator ; and of that influence by which spiritual blessings are conveyed to mankind, designated in scripture as the Comforter, Spirit of Truth, or Holy Spirit " And to prove the error of the idea that the association of names of individuals with that of God, in a religious profession or belief, which is more essential than any external mark of profession, could identify or equalize those individuals with God, I quoted, Exod. xiv. 31, which I have just repeated, and 2 Chron. xx. 20, " Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem ; believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established, believe his Prophets, so shall ye prosper," --wherein the names of Moses and the Prophets of God are associated with that of the Deity. Besides, I observed to the Editor, that " fire worshippers, for instance, insisting on the literal sense of the words, in example of the Reverend Editor, might refer to that text in the 3rd chapter of Matthew, repeated in

Luke iii. 16, in which it is announced that Jesus 'will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire ;' and they might contend, that if the association, in the rite of baptism, of the names of the Son and Holy Ghost with that of the Father be supposed to prove their divinity, it is clear that Fire also, being associated with the Holy Ghost in the same rite, must likewise be considered as a part of the Godhead." He keeps all these arguments out of view and, according to his usual mode of reasoning, repeats again in his reply what he thought the purport of Heb. i. 10, Rev. ii. 29, and has recourse again to the angel of Bochim, &c., which, having no relation to the subject in question, and having been often examined in the preceding pages, I shall pass by here. His only remark concerning this last position is, that "had the passage" (respecting *belief in God and his servant Moses*) "quoted from Exod. xix. 31, been that formulary, instead of being a part of a narrative, the omission in the baptismal rite of the clause 'his servant,' would have been fatal to his objection. If, then, the phrase 'his servant,' marks the inferior nature of this messenger of God, the omission of it in the circumstances just mentioned, unavoidably proves the equality of the Father and the Son," &c. In the first place, it is too obvious to need proof, that every circumstance mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, even in the form of narrative if approved of God, is worthy of attention, though not stated in the formulary of a religious rite. But, in the second place, the passage quoted by me from 2 Chronicles, is a commandment enjoining belief in God and his Prophets, even with the omission, so much desired by our Editor, of the term "his servants." Does this formulary, I ask, with the omission of the term "his servants," prove the equality of the Father and the Prophets, from the circumstance of their being associated with God in a solemn religious injunction?

In the third place, the term "Son," equally with the word "servant," denotes the inferiority of Jesus as plainly as any expression intended to denote inferiority can possibly do. But the Editor says, that "never was there a more humble begging of the question than the assertion that the epithet 'Son' ought to be understood and admitted by every one as expressing the created nature of Christ;—Why ought it thus to be understood and admitted?" I answer, because common sense tells us that a son, as well as a servant, must be acknowledged to be inferior to his father or master. Again, we find David called the

son of God, Solomon the Son of God, Adam the Son of God, and, in short, the whole children of Israel denominated sons of God, yet represented in scripture as inferior to God their Father; nay, moreover, Jesus the Son of God positively declares himself to be inferior to his Father,—“ My Father is greater than I.”

Our Editor puts again another query, (p. 622,) “Can he ever prove that among men a son must be of a nature inferior to his father?” I reply by putting another question to him: Can the Editor ever prove, that among men a servant *must be* of a nature inferior to his master? If he cannot, are we to suppose Moses, a servant of God, equal in nature with the Deity? The fact is, that among men a servant, a son, and a grandson, are of the same nature with their masters, or fathers; but when creation is not effected in the ordinary course of nature, there need not be, and is not, an identity of nature between one who is called father, and another called son; so when service is performed by *men* to others not of their own kind, oneness of nature is not necessarily found between the servant and the person served.

The Editor concludes the proposition, saying that “Our author declines renewing the subject relative to Christ’s declaration, ‘Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world’, which, however, we are not aware he has ever yet discussed.” The fact is, in examining Matt. xviii. 20, “For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,” which the Editor quoted to establish the ubiquity of the Son, I inquired in my Second Appeal, “Is it not evident that the Saviour meant here, by being in the midst of two or three of his disciples, his guidance to them when joined together in searching for the truth? We find similar expressions in the Scr. res. wherein the guidance of the Prophets of God is also meant by words that would imply their presence.” Luke xvi. 29: “Abraham said unto him They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them.” And upon the Editor’s quoting Matt. xxviii. 20, “I am with you always, even to the end of the world,” in all probability to establish the ubiquity of Jesus, I said in my Second Appeal, “I will not renew the subject, as it has been already discussed in examining the first position;” having shewn there that, by the presence of Christ and that of other Prophets that may be observed in any part of the Bible, their spiritual guidance should be understood. My readers, therefore, may judge whether or not the

purport of the last-mentioned verse is connected with the subject discussed in examining the first position. I entreat the Editor, however, to reflect on the last phrase of the verse in question, i. e. "always to the end of the world," which, so far from evincing Christ's eternal existence, implies that his influence over his disciples extended only to the end of the world, when he shall be himself subject to the Father of the universe, 1 Cor. xv. 28.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Holy Spirit and other subjects.

I EXPRESSED my surprise, in my Second Appeal, at the Editor's having "noticed, in so short and abrupt a manner, the question of the personality and deity of the Holy Ghost, although the Editor esteems the Son and the Spirit as equally distinct persons of the Godhead." I feel now still more surprised to observe, that the Editor, in his present review also has noticed, in the same brief manner, the personality of the Holy Ghost; as, while he fills more than a hundred pages in support of the deity of the *second* person, he has not allowed even a single page to the question of the *third*. He, at the same time, overlooks almost all the arguments I have advanced against his feeble attempt to prove the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, and in many other places of the Second Appeal. The Editor, however, first says, that "If he in whom dwelt all truth, has declared him (the Holy Ghost, in Matt. xxviii. 19) to be as distinct in person, and as worthy of worship and adoration, as the Father and himself, no further evidence is needed either to his personality or Godhead." Had the Editor thought the quotation of a single verse a sufficient excuse for avoiding the discussion of the personality of the Holy Ghost, he might have, on the same ground, omitted to discuss the subject of the deity of Jesus Christ, by noticing, in like manner, a single verse of scripture, which he considered as a proof of the divine nature of the Son, and thus saved me the trouble of a long controversy. If the association of names, in a religious rite, were to be admitted as a proof of the personality of the Holy Spirit, the power of God, another divine attribute, should be considered God himself, it being also mentioned jointly with the Holy Spirit in the rite of Unction (Acts x. 38); and Fire also should be supposed to be a distinct person of the Godhead, because we find Fire associated with the Holy Ghost, in the same rite of baptism, as I before observed (Luke iii. 16); but I shall not recur to this subject, having fully examined it.

Notwithstanding my plain declaration, in the Second appeal, that "with respect to the Holy Ghost, I must confess my inability to find a single passage in the whole Scriptures, in which the Spirit is

addressed as God, or as a person of God, so as to afford believers of the Trinity an excuse for their profession of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost," the Editor thought it advisable not to dwell on the subject, and only observes, "Were it needful, indeed, a rich fulness of scripture proof could be adduced respecting the Holy Spirit, as well as the Son; but the selection of a few passages will be quite sufficient." These are as follows. the first are from the Gospel of St. John, xvi. 13, 26; xvi. 8, 11; and the last are from Acts x. 20, and xii. 2. The Editor here overlooks entirely what I stated in the Second Appeal, on this very point; this is, if from the consideration of such expressions as, "God will send the Holy Spirit," "The Holy Spirit will teach you" "The Holy Spirit will reprove the world," "The Holy Spirit will glorify me," the Spirit be acknowledged a separate person of the Deity, what would the Editor say of other attributes, such as mercy, wrath, truth, &c., which are also, in a similar manner, personified in various instances? Psalm lvii. 3. "God shall send forth his mercy and truth" lxxxv 10. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. lxxxix. 14: "Mercy and truth shall go before thy face." xciv 18: "My foot slippeth; Thy Mercy, O Lord, held me up." "Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens." "For there is wrath gone out from the Lord," (Numb. xvi. 46.)

In the course of citing the above verses of John and Acts, the Editor quotes Acts v. 3: "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?" 4. "Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God;" whence he concludes, that he that lieth to the Holy Spirit lieth to God, and, consequently, the Spirit is God. On this inference I have already observed, in my former Appeal, that any sin or blasphemy against one of the attributes of God, is, of course, accounted a sin or blasphemy against God himself. But this admission amounts neither to a recognition of the self-existence of the attribute, nor of its identity with God. I then referred the editor to Matt. x. 40, "He that receiveth me;" and now I beg his attention to 1 Cor. viii. 12, "But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ" Do these passages identify or equalize the apostles of Jesus, with himself? Nothing but early acquired and long established prejudices can prevent any literary character from perceiving such a gross error. As to Acts x. 20, if the speaker be admitted, according to the Editor, as a separate person,

he must then be identified either with the spirit of Cornelius, who had actually sent the three men mentioned in ver. 19, as is evident from ver. 8, or with the angel of God, who ordered Cornelius to send them to Peter, (ver. 5,) a conclusion which would not, after all, suit the purpose of the Editor. I entreat the Editor to take notice, at least, of some of my arguments against the personality of the Holy Spirit, mentioned in Chapter vi. of the Second Appeal or, if he declines adventuring on this point of theology, let him candidly reduce the supposed persons of the Godhead from a Trinity to Duality, and this point being gained, I may then continue my efforts with renewed hope of reducing this Duality to the everlasting and indivisible Unity.

The Editor concludes his Essay with saying, (p. 624,) "The deity and the personality of the Son and the Holy Spirit being established, the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity needs no further confirmation : it follows of course. We shall, therefore, close our testimonies from Scripture, by laying before our readers three passages, which bring the sacred Three full into view. The first we select from Isaiah xlvi. 13, in which one is introduced who previously declares, 'My hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth,' &c., and whom, therefore, we are at no loss to recognize. He, however, declares, verse 16, 'and now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me.'" Now, supposing the person who declares himself, in verse 16, to have been sent by the Lord God and his Spirit is one of the persons of the Godhead, whose hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, according to the Editor : this admission would be so far advantageous to the cause of the Editor, as respects the plurality of persons in the deity ; but it would be totally fatal to his grand object, since it would substitute Isaiah as a divine person, in the place of Jesus Christ. Isaiah the prophet is the grand speaker throughout the whole of his book ; who declares himself often to have been sent by God as a messenger to Israel. He often speaks abruptly in behalf of God, as if God were speaking himself in the course of his own discourse, as I noticed previously, and sometimes again he suddenly introduces his own sentiments, while he is announcing the words of Jehovah, without making any distinction. I mention here only a few instances. Isaiah lxiii. 6 : "I will tread down the people in mine anger, and make them drunk in my fury, and I will bring down their strength to the earth." (7.) "I will mention the loving-kindness of the Lord,

and the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed on us." Does not the Prophet *introduce himself*, in verse 7, most abruptly, while speaking himself in behalf of God, in verse 6; Ch. I. 3 : "I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering." (4.) "The Lord God hath *given me* the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary," &c. Here the Prophet introduces himself, in verse 4, in the same abrupt manner, without intimation of any change of person.

I now cite the context of the very verse of Isaiah quoted by the Editor, to enable my readers to judge how far "it brings the sacred Three fully into view." (14.) "All ye (the inhabitants of Judah) assemble yourselves, and hear; who among them (Israel) hath declared these things? The Lord hath loved him (Cyrus* of Persia, the conqueror of Babylon). He (the Lord) will do *his pleasure on Babylon*, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans." (15.) "I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have *called him*, (Cyrus,) I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous." (16.) "Come ye near unto me, (says the Prophet,) hear ye this, I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I. (that is, from the first time of these events:) and now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me." (17.) Expressions similar to the phrase, "From the time that it was, there am I," are often used by the Prophets. *Vide* Jer. i. 5: "And before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a Prophet unto the nations," And so Isaiah xlix. 1. No one, I presume, that ever read, even with common attention, the book of Isaiah, (in which speakers are introduced without any distinction, more frequently than in the other scriptural books,) would attempt to prove the Trinity, or the Deity of Jesus Christ, from the passage quoted by the Editor, unless he is previously biassed by some human creed, and thereby absolutely prevented from comparing impartially one passage with the other.

The Editor perhaps means the personality and the deity of the Holy Spirit by the phrase, "The Lord God and his Spirit hath sent

* Isaiah xliv. 7: "And who as I, shall *call* and shall declare it?" &c. (28) "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure." xlii. 11: "Calling a ravenous bird from the east, the man that *executeth my counsel* from a far country: yea, I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it."

me,'† (verse 16), seemingly representing the Spirit of God as a co-operator with himself. He might, in that case, on the same ground, endeavour to establish the personality and the deity of *Righteousness*, another attribute of the Deity, as being represented with God as an agent in Isaiah lix. 16, "Therefore his arm brought salvation unto him, and his Righteousness, it sustained him." And he might also attempt to prove the personality and deity of the breath of God, which is, in like manner, represented as a co-operator with the Spirit of God. Job xxxiii. 4 : "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of him hath given life." Is this the best of the proofs of the Trinity with which the Editor closes his testimonies ? If such be his proof, I am at a loss to guess what his illustrations will be. The second passage, quoted by the Editor, is what I have just examined before. The third is, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Amen." Here the apostle prays, that the guidance of Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the constant operation of the holy influence of God, may be with Christians, since without the guidance of Jesus, no one can be thoroughly impressed with the love of the Deity under the Christian dispensation, nor can that love of God continue to exist unless preserved by divine influence ; a fact which I have demonstrated, in examining Matt. xxviii. 19. But what has this passage to do with the proof of the deity of Jesus and the personality of the Holy Spirit ? Does not Paul call the Philippians partakers of *his own grace* ? Phil. i. 17. Is not every man pure in heart declared to be possessed of the grace of his lips ; that is, verbal instructions ? Prov. xxii. 11. Is not, in Psalm xxiii. 6, the communion of goodness and mercy desired for all the days of life ? Can such expressions be also considered as proofs of the deity of Paul, or of the personality of these attributes ? I hope and pray, the Editor may take all those circumstances into his serious consideration.

I now examine the remaining few of those passages which I intended to notice in a subsequent chapter of this Essay. The first is, Zech. xii. 10, "In that day they shall look upon me whom they have pierced," compared with John xix. 37, "They shall look on him

† In the original Hebrew, the last phrase stands thus ; "The Lord Jehovah hath sent me and his Spirit," which bear two constructions ; first, "The Lord Jehovah hath sent me, and hath sent his Spirit." The second is "The Lord Jehovah and his Spirit hath sent me."

whom they pierced." To shew the error in the translation of the verse in the English version, I quoted in my Second Appeal, the verse in the original Hebrew, and a translation thereof from the Arabic Bible and another from the Septuagint, with a literal English translation, which I repeat: "And they shall look toward me on account of him whom they have pierced." But in order to destroy the validity of the Arabic Bible and that of the Septuagint, the Editor says, that "the Greek and Arabic versions are nothing to the original text itself." I perfectly agree with him in this assertion, but I am convinced, that the Editor must be better acquainted than myself with the prevailing and continued practice among Christian theologians, to have recourse to the versions, especially to the Septuagint, when a dispute arises in the interpretation of any text of the Old Testament, and to give preference to the authority of the Septuagint, even over that of Jerome's, which the Editor quotes in opposition to the Arabic and Greek versions.

As to the original text, the Editor first observes, that "as to the particle **וְ** eth, which the best Hebrew grammars define a particle marking the accusative case governed by active verbs, or an emphatic particle denoting the very thing itself." I therefore think it proper to quote Parkhurst's opinion on the particle **וְ** eth, from his Hebrew Lexicon, that my readers may judge whether or not the above rule, laid down by the Editor, is founded upon good authority. Parkhurst (p. 48): "The Lexicons say, that when joined with a verb, it (eth) denotes the *accusative case*, if the verb be *active*; see Gen. i. 1 and al. freq., but the *nominative*, if the verb be *passive* or *neuter*, Gen. xxvii. 45; Deut. xx. 8: Josh. vii. 15, &c., al. freq. But, in truth, it is the sign of no particular case, that *distinction* being *unknown* in *Hebrew*. See Josh. xxii. 17; Ezek. xxxv. 10; Numb. x. 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xv. 23; Neh. ix. 19, 34; 2 Kings vi. 5." Parkhurst gives also the second meaning of this particle—"2, *with*, *to*, *towards*, Exod. i, 1. Deut. vii. 8." which the Editor also partially admits.

The fact is, this particle denotes an accusative case as well as other cases, and also stands for the English prepositions, "with," "for," "towards," &c., and therefore, the verse in question, as it is found in our Hebrew copies of the Old Testament should indisputably be thus read, in consistence with its context, 31: "And they shall look towards me, for (or on account of) him whom they have

pierced," or "They shall look upon me with him whom they have pierced."

The Editor quotes, to my great surprise, (in page 546,) some verses in which the particle **תְּנָ** requires an accusative case, and consequently, no preposition "for," "to," or "with," can be properly placed. But I beg to ask the Editor, how he can turn the following verses to his purpose, wherein no accusative case after the particle **תְּנָ** can be at all admitted? Exodus i. 1: "Now these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt; every man and his household came *with* Jacob" Would the Editor thus render the particle here requiring an accusative case,—"every man and his household came *Jacob*"? Would the verse in this case bear any sense? Gen. xliv. 4: **תִּמְצָא נָא כִּי מִצְרַיִם** "They were gone *out* of the city." There the particle stands for "out of," or "from," iv. 1: "I have gotten a man *from* the Lord." Here the preposition "from" is substituted for this very Hebrew particle. In Deut. vii, 8, we have **כִּי סָתַרְתָּ לִי יְהוָה אֶתְּנָתָרְתָּ** literally, "on account of the love of God for you," though thus rendered in the English version, "Because the Lord loved you."†

In the course of examining this subject, the Editor quotes, "Thy throne, O Jehovah, is for ever and ever." I shall feel obliged, if he will kindly let me know from what book of the Old or New Testament he has selected this verse, containing the term "Jehovah," in the first part of the text.

As to my remarks on Zech. xiii. 7, "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against the man that is my fellow, saith Jehovah of hosts; smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered," the Editor agrees partly with me; saying, "No one doubts that the

* Newcome reads, "And they shall look on him whom they pierced." His note on this translation is as follows: "On him] Thirty-six MSS. and two ed. read **לְךָ**: three other MSS. read so originally; six perhaps read so; six read so now; and eleven have **תְּנָ** in the margin, as Keri. And yet **לְךָ on me**, may be traced in the ancient versions and Chald. **לְךָ** was also noted as a various lection by R. Saadias, who lived about the year 900. See Kenn. diss. gen. § 43. 'Citant **לְךָ** Talmud et R Saadias Haggai. Poc. Append. in Mal' Secker. Dr. Owen shews that Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Barnabas favour the reading of **לְךָ** Inquiry—Sept. Version, Sect. iv.'

† Archbishop Secker, in Newcome, has the following remark: "Potest **אָתָּה שָׁפֵךְ** notare *eo quod, ut vertunt o. ch. vel quem.* ¶ Vide Nold. Et sic post Dativum adhibetur Jer. xxxviii. 9."

Saviour placed himself in subjection to the Father, when he condescended to become subject to death." He, however, wishes to prove the deity of Jesus Christ by the application of the word *fellow* (צָרֵךְ) to him. He here quotes Micah v. 2, " Whose goings forth were from everlasting ; " and John i. 1, " And the word was with God," which have no relation to the term צָרֵךְ or *fellow* found in the verse in question ; and as these quotations of the Editor have been examined in pp. 433, 448, I shall not recur to them in this place. He lastly quotes Parkhurst, to shew that צָרֵךְ " implies a neighbour, a member of the same society." Is not this quotation, defining the Hebrew word צָרֵךְ as " a neighbour," directly against the object of the Editor ? If Christ is represented, either in a real or figurative sense, as standing on the *right hand* of the Deity, taking precedence of all those that believe in him as the promised Messiah sent from God, would it be inconsistent in itself, or an acknowledgment of his deity, to use the word צָרֵךְ or neighbour, for Christ ? My readers will observe, from the following quotations, that this very term צָרֵךְ which is rendered *fellow* in the verse in question, is translated " neighbour " by the very authors of the English version, in many other instances. Levit. vi. 2, " or hath deceived his neighbour." The last word is a translation of the term צָרֵךְ xix. 17, " Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy ' neighbour,' " or *inmeeth* : ch. xxv. 14, 15.

The Editor, in speaking of Christ, repeats, now and then, the phrase, " God blessed for ever," perhaps alluding to Romans ix. 5 Among all the interpretations given to this text, for or against the Trinity, there is the Paraphrase of Locke, of whose name the literary world is so justly proud, which I here first quote :—" Had the patriarchs, to whom the promises were made, for their (the Israelites) fore-fathers ; and of them, as to his fleshy extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen," Secondly, I shall cite here some scriptural passages to shew that it was customary with Jewish writers to address abrupt exclamations to God while treating of some other subjects, that my readers may be convinced that the sudden introduction of the phrase, " God be blessed for ever, in ver. 5, by St. Paul, was perfectly consistent with the style of the sacred writings. Psalm lxxxix. 51, 52. " Wherewith thine enemies have reproached, O Lord ; wherewith they have reproached the

* *Vide* ver. the 3rd of the same chapter, in which Paul speaks of his " kinsmen according to the flesh."

footsteps of thine anointed. *Blessed be the Lord for evermore. Amen and Amen.*" Psalm civ. 35: "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. *Bless thou the Lord. O my soul. Praise ye the Lord.*"

If St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, and in that to the Ephesians, declares positively that the Father is the only being who has the right to the epithet "God," under the Christian dispensation, he could not, as an inspired writer, be guilty of so palpable a contradiction as to apply this very epithet to the Christ of God, on another occasion. 1 Cor. viii. 6: "But to us (Christians) there is but *one God the Father.*" Eph. i, 17: "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Father of glory,*" &c. iv. 5, 6: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism: *One God and Father of all,* who is above all, through *all,* and in us *all.*"

Respecting 1 John v. 20, I beg to refer to the rule laid down by Bishop Middleton, (of whom the Editor speaks highly and justly, in p. 535,) in his work on the Greek Article, p. 79: "When two or more attributes joined by a copulative or copulatives, are *assumed* of the same person or thing, before the first attribute the article is *inserted*; before the remaining ones it is omitted." In the passage under consideration there are two attributes joined by a copulative, and in order to ascertain whether they are assumed of the *same* person, or of *different* persons, it is only necessary to observe, that the article is inserted not only before the first attribute, but also before the second, and that, consequently, "the true God" is one person, and "the eternal life" is another. This perfectly corresponds with the preceding part of the verse, in which "he that is true," and "his son Jesus Christ," are separately mentioned.

Finding the practice of the primitive Christians, during the first three centuries, unfavourable to his sentiments, the Editor prudently keeps it out of view altogether, merely observing, (p. 625,) into that "we do not even inquire Paul tells us, that, even in his time, 'the mystery of iniquity' had already begun to work; and John adds, that 'many antichrists' had already gone out into the world." The Editor must be well aware that those in whom the mystery of iniquity was found, and who were detected as Antichrists, were not in the fellowship of true Christians, and consequently church histories treat of the practice of the latter entirely distinct from that of the former; and it is therefore evident, that practice and professions of primitive

Christians, who were, generally, the contemporaries of the apostles or their disciples, are worthy of inquiry for the regulation of the conduct of the Christians of these days.

As to Mosheim, the Editor says, "even Mosheim, suspected as he is of being unfavourable to the truth, establishes their faith in Christ's deity in the very passage quoted, p. 187, by our author against this doctrine." It appears from this question, that they, when baptized, "made solemn profession of their confidence in Christ." The Jews, as well as almost all the Gentiles, professed their belief in God; but the thing which was required of them by the apostles was, they should make profession of confidence in Jesus as the Christ of God, in the rite of baptism. If such a profession of confidence in Christ is admitted by the Editor as a sufficient acknowledgment of his deity, why should he be so hostile to those (whom he styles Unitarians) who are baptized in the name of Jesus, and also *profess* their solemn *confidence in him*? Still further am I surprised that, when the apostle John expressly wrote his Gospel to prove "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," (ch. xx. 31,) the Editor, so far from being satisfied with those who receive Jesus in the character expressed by these terms, ("the Christ, the Son of God,") in the sense which they uniformly bear in the Scriptures, requires them, moreover, to believe that Jesus Christ is the very and eternal God, and thus not only defeats the object of the apostle, but even contradicts him in express language.

The Editor then proceeds to say, "Respecting Locke and Newton, our reply is precisely the same; their opinions in divinity are nothing to us." The Editor, elated by the general prevalence of the orthodox system, effected only by perversions of the sense of the divine writings, attempts to turn the authorities of these great men also to his own purpose. "If" (says he) "Locke, as our author affirms, (p. 264) really thought that the faith which makes men Christians includes their receiving Jesus Christ for their Lord and King, Locke knew that this included the belief of his omniscience and omnipresence, as, without this, his being their King was only a solemn mockery." The Editor prudently quotes here only a part of the sentence of Locke quoted by me, which he thought might give him an opportunity of making comments favourable to his creed; but it is fortunate for us that his works, being written and printed in English, are not liable to much critical perversion. Locke says, "that the believing Jesus to be the

Messiah includes in it a receiving him for our Lord and King, PRO-MISED AND SENT FROM GOD." The phrase chosen by that celebrated author, "*sent from God*," denies the deity of Christ beyond doubt, since one sent by another is of course different from him who sends him. To avoid every misconstruction being thrown upon his definition, Locke chose the term "God," instead of any other term in the above phrase, that Jesus might be understood separately from God, without the least room for the sophistry that might represent him as God the Son, sent from God the Father. We, however, are not at a loss to discover what Locke meant by the terms "Lord and King," when referred to Jesus, as he fully explained them in his Paraphrase on the Epistles to the Corinthians. As to the term "Lord," I refer to the note on 1 Cor. i. 2: "What the apostle means by "Lord, when he attributes it to Christ, vide viii. 6." Paraphrase on viii. 6: "Yet to us Christians there is but *one God, the Father and Author of all things*, to whom *alone* we address *all* our worship and service; and one Lord, viz. Jesus Christ by whom all things come *from God to us*, and by whom we have access to the Father." As to the term "King," I quote his paraphrase on ch. xv, 24, which clearly represents his sovereignty as finite: "After that shall be the day of judgment, which shall bring to a conclusion and finish the whole dispensation to the race and posterity of Adam, in this world: when Christ shall have *delivered up the kingdom to God the Father*, which he shall not do till he hath destroyed all empire, power, and authority, that shall be in the world besides."

The Editor says of Sir Isaac Newton, "His belief of Christ's deity appears as clear as the light, from our author's own quotation, when he said that Christians of all ages are represented as worshipping God and the Lamb." Newton was too circumspect to leave his word liable to perversion by the popular opinion. He explains the sense in which Christians worship God, and also the sense in which they worship Jesus—the one as directly opposed to the other as the West to the East. Newton says, "God for his benefaction in *creating all things*, and the Lamb for his benefaction in *redeeming* with his blood: God as sitting upon the throne and living *for ever*, and the Lamb exalted above all by the *merits of his death*." The worship offered to the latter is therefore merely a manifestation of reverence, as I pointed out in p. 481.

To equalize a being exalted and worshipped for his meritorious *death*, with the eternal Supreme Sovereign of the universe, is only

an attempt to bring the nature of the Deity on a level with a mortal creature, and by no means serves to elevate that creature to the rank of the Deity. If the Editor consider these quotations from Locke and Newton really orthodox, how inconsistent he must be in condemning those whose sentiments as to the person of Jesus Christ are precisely the same, to wit, that he is the anointed Lord and King promised and sent from God, is worthy of worship for his mediation and meritorious death, but by no means as a being possessed of a two-fold nature, divine and human, perfect God and perfect Man.

As to my remarks on certain abstruse reasonings resorted to by the orthodox, the Editor further says, that he needs them not, thereby avowedly relinquishing reason in support of the Trinity; but, happily, he asserts at the same time, that "to us the Scriptures are sufficient" I therefore entreat him to point out a single scriptural authority, treating of a compound God of three persons, and of a compound Messiah, one of these three persons, constituted of a two-fold nature, divine and human.

The Editor alludes to the term "antichrists," found in the Epistle of John; but I am glad that we most fortunately are furnished with the definition of this term by that inspired writer which decides at once the question who are the real subjects of its application. 1 John iv. 3. "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist." We accordingly rejoice to confess that Jesus Christ, who came in the flesh, is OF GOD, and that not only he, but his apostles also were of God (1 John iv. 6, v. 19) But we feel sincerely for those who violate this standard, either by falling short of or going beyond it by denying that Jesus Christ is OF GOD, or by affirming that Jesus Christ is God himself, since both these assertions, to wit, "Jesus Christ is NOT of God," and "Jesus Christ is God," are equally incompatible with John's proposition, that "Jesus Christ is OF GOD." For example: The prime minister, by the law of the land, is appointed by the king, and consequently is acknowledged to be OF THE KING; to say, therefore, that he is not of the king would be to detract from the minister's dignity; but to say that the prime minister is the king, is not only inconsistent with the assertion that the prime minister is of the king, but would be pronounced high treason; in like manner as deifying the Christ of God is both an affront to God and an *antichristian* doctrine.

Lastly, I tender my humble thanks for the Editor's kind suggestion in inviting me to adopt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; but I am sorry to find that I am unable to benefit by this advice. After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindooism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformati ons of modern times; since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of persons of the Godhead; and, on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of Polytheism.

I now conclude my Essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the government of the English,—a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends.



**Tomb of Raja Rammohun Roy in the Cemetery of Arno's Vale,
near Bristol.**

A LETTER*
ON THE
PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY

AND THE MEANS OF PROMOTING ITS RECEPTION IN INDIA.

SIR,

With no ordinary feelings of satisfaction I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April last, which together with the queries it enclosed, I had the pleasure of receiving by the hands of my friend Captain Heard. I now beg to be allowed, in the first place, to express my gratitude for your kind notice of a stranger like myself, residing in a remote country: and, secondly, to return my sincere thanks for the most acceptable present of books with which you have favoured me.

I should have answered your letter by the ship *Bengal*; but I regret to say, that my time and attention had been so much engrossed by constant controversies with polytheists both of the West and East, that I had only leisure to answer by that opportunity a short letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Reed of Boston, and was obliged to defer a reply to your queries until the present occasion. For this apparent neglect I have to request your pardon.

I have now prepared such replies to those questions as my knowledge authorizes and my conscience permits; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter, (to wit, "Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity, in what degree desirable, and for what reasons?") which I pause to answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that "in every nation he that *feareth God and worketh righteousness* is accepted with him," in whatever form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, and political state of mankind, than any other known religious system.

It is impossible for me to describe the happiness I feel at the idea that so great a body of a free, enlightened, and powerful people, like your countrymen, have engaged in purifying the religion of

* Addressed to the Rev. Henry Ware, of Cambridge (U. S. A.) in reply to a letter of his.—Ed.

Christ from those absurd, idolatrous doctrines and practices, with which the Greek, Roman, and Barbarian converts to Christianity have mingled it from time to time. Nothing can be a more acceptable homage to the Divine Majesty, or a better tribute to reason, than an attempt to root out the idea that the omnipresent Deity should be generated in the womb of a female, and live in a state of subjugation for several years, and lastly offer his blood to another person of the *Godhead*, whose anger could not be appeased except by the sacrifice of a portion of himself in a human form; so no service can be more advantageous to mankind than an endeavour to withdraw them from the belief that an imaginary faith, ritual observances, or outward marks, independently of good works, can cleanse men from the stain of past sins, and secure their eternal salvation.

Several able friends of truth in England have, in like manner, successfully engaged themselves in this most laudable undertaking. From the nature of her constitution, however, these worthy men have not only to contend with the religious prejudices of education in the popular corruptions of Christianity; but are also opposed by all the force which the Established Church derives from the abundant revenues appropriated to the sustainers of her dogmas. Happily for you, it is only prejudice, unarmed with wealth and power, that you have to struggle with, which, of itself, is, I must confess, a sufficiently formidable opponent.

Your country, however, in free inquiry into religious truth, excels even England, and I have therefore every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will soon, throughout the United States, triumph over the present prevailing corruptions. I presume to say, that no native of those States can be more fervent than myself in praying for the uninterrupted happiness of your country, and for what I cannot but deem essential to its prosperity—the perpetual union of all the States under one general government. Would not the glory of England soon be dimmed, were Scotland and Ireland separated from her? This and many other illustrations cannot have escaped your attention. I think no true and prudent friend of your country could wish to see the power and independence at present secured to all by a general government, exposed to the risk that would follow, were a dissolution to take place, and each state left to pursue its own resources. As Captain Endicott has been kind enough to offer to take charge of any parcel that I might wish to send you, I have the

pleasure of sending the accompanying publications, of which I beg your acceptance. I now conclude my letter with sincere wishes for your health and success, and remain, with the greatest regard,

Yours most obediently,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

Calcutta, February 2, 1824.

“I. What is the real success of the great exertions which are making for the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity?”

“II. What is the number and character of converts?”

To reply to each of these questions is indeed to enter on a very delicate subject, as the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore determinedly contradict any one that may express a doubt as to the success of their labours; and they have repeatedly given the public to understand, that their converts were not only numerous but also respectable in their conduct; while the young Baptist Missionaries in Calcutta, though not inferior to any Missionaries in India in abilities and acquirements, both European and Asiatic, nor in Christian zeal and exertions, are sincere enough to confess openly, that the number of their converts, after the hard labour of six years, does not exceed, *four*; and in like manner the Independent Missionaries of this city, whose resources are much greater than those of Baptists, candidly acknowledge, that their Missionary exertions for seven years have been productive only of *one convert*.

To avoid, however, the occasion of a further dispute on this point with the Serampore Missionaries I beg to substitute for my answer to the above queries, the language of the Rev. Abbé Dubois, who, after a mission of thirty years in India, is better qualified than I am, to give a decided opinion upon these subjects, and whose opinions deserve more reliance than those of a private individual who has never engaged in Missionary duties. The quotation above alluded to is as follows:—

“Question of conversion,—The question to be considered may be reduced to these two points: First, is there a possibility of making real converts to Christianity among the natives in India? Secondly, Are the means employed for that purpose, and above all, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the idioms of the country, likely to conduce to this desirable object?

“To both interrogatories I will answer in the negative: it is my decided opinion, first, that under existing circumstances there is no

human possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity ; and, secondly, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, so far from conducting to this end, will, on the contrary, increase the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion, and prove, in many respects, detrimental to it. These assertions, coming from a person of my profession, may to many appear bold and extraordinary : I will therefore support them by such arguments and proofs, as a long experience and practice in the career of proselytism have enabled me to adduce.

“ When I was at Vellore, four years ago, in attendance on a numerous congregation living in that place, having been informed that the Lutheran Missionaries kept a Catechist or native religious teacher at that station on a salary of five pagodas a month, I was led to suppose that they had a numerous flock there ; but I was not a little surprised, when on inquiry I found that the whole congregation consisted of only *three individuals*, namely a *drummer*, a *cook*, and a *horse-keeper*.

“ In the meantime, do not suppose, that those thin congregations are wholly composed of converted pagans ; at least half consists of Catholic apostates, who went over to the Lutheran sect in times of famine, or from other interested motives.

“ It is not uncommon on the coast to see natives who successively pass from one religion to another, according to their actual interest. In my last journey to Madras, I became acquainted with native converts, who regularly changed their religion twice a year, and who, for a long while, were in the habit of being six months Catholic and six months Protestant.

“ Behold the Lutheran Mission, established in India more than a century ago ; interrogate its Missionaries ; ask them what were their successes during so long a period, and through what means were gained over the few proselytes they made. Ask them whether the interests of their sect are improving, or whether they are gaining ground, or whether their small numbers are not rather dwindling away ?

“ Behold the truly industrious, the unaffected and unassuming Moravian brethren : ask them how many converts they have made in India, during a stay of about seventy years, by preaching the Gospel in all its naked simplicity : they will candidly answer, Not one, not a single man.

"Behold the Nestorians in Travancore; interrogate them; ask them for an account of their success in the work of proselytism in these modern times; ask them whether they are gaining ground, and whether the interests of their ancient mode of worship is improving: they will reply, that so far from this being the case, their congregations, once so flourishing, amounting (according to Gibbon's account) to 200,000 souls, are now reduced to less than an eighth of this number, and are daily diminishing.

"Behold the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore: inquire what are their scriptural successes on the shores of the Ganges; ask them whether those extremely incorrect versions, already obtained at an immense expense, have produced the sincere conversion of a single pagan; and I am persuaded, that, if they are asked an answer upon their honour and conscience, they will all reply in the negative."

"III. *Are those Hindoos who profess Christianity respectable for their understanding, their morals, and their condition in life?*"

In answer to this query I must again beg to refer you to the above quotations from the Abbé Dubois. For my own part, I have no personal knowledge of any native converts respectable for their understanding, morals, and condition in life.

"IV. *Of what caste are they generally, and what effect has their profession of Christianity upon their standing?*"

It is reported, and universally believed by the native inhabitants, that the generality, if not all of them, are of low caste, and my acquaintance with the few of them I have met with has in a great degree confirmed me in this belief.

"V. *Are they Christians from inquiry and conviction, or from other motives?*"

The real motives of our actions are very difficult to be discovered. All that I can say on this subject is, that several years ago there was a pretty prevalent report in this part of India, that a native embracing Christianity should be remunerated for his loss of caste by the gift of five hundred rupees, with a country-born Christian woman as his wife; and while this report had any pretension to credit, several natives offered from time to time to become Christians. The hope of any such recompence being taken away, the old converts find now very few natives inclined to follow their example. This disappointment not only discourages further conversion, but has also induced several Moosulman converts to return to their former faith; and had Hindoos

with equal facility admitted the return of outcasts to their society, a great number of them also would, I suspect, have imitated the conduct of their brother Moosulman converts. In a populous country like Hindooostan, there are thousands of distressed outcasts wandering about, in whom the smallest hope of worldly gain can produce an immediate change of religious profession, and their conversion to Christianity is a matter of indifference to the community at large. About two years ago I stated this circumstance to a Church Missionary who lives in my neighbourhood, and whom I respect for his liberal conduct; and I even offered to send to that gentleman as many natives as he might wish to convert on condition that he should maintain them at a fixed salary not exceeding eight rupees per month.

“VI. Of what denomination of Christians have the Missionaries been most successful; Catholic, Protestant, Episcopalian, Baptist, Trinitarian Unitarian?”

To the best of my belief no denomination of Christians has had any real success in bringing natives of India over to the Christian faith.

“VII. What is the number of Unitarian Christians, and are they chiefly natives or Europeans?”

The Rev. Mr. Adam is the only Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and he publicly avowed Unitarianism so late as the latter end of 1821. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which he has been labouring, he has brought this system of Christianity into notice in this part of the globe; as previous to that period many did not know that there was such a thing as Unitarianism, and others tried to stigmatize it, in proportion as their prejudices for the corruptions of Christianity prompted them to abuse reason and common sense, without fear of contradiction. Mr. Adam, although he has made no avowed native convert, has already received every countenance from several respectable European gentlemen, and from a great number of the reading part of the native community in Calcutta.

“VIII. How are they regarded and treated by other Christians? Is it with any peculiar hostility?”

The manner in which the rest of the Missionaries have treated Mr. Adam, since his avowal of Unitarianism, is indeed opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity. But towards other Unitarians, their conduct in general is similar to that of Roman Catholics towards Protestants.

“IX. *What are the chief causes that have prevented, and that continue to prevent, the reception of Christianity by the Natives of India? May much of the want of success be reasonably attributed to the form in which the religion is presented to them?*”

The chief causes which prevent the natives of India from changing their religion are the same as are found in the numerous class of Christians who are unable to give an answer to any man that asketh the reason of the hope they profess, viz., their reliance on the sanctity of the books revealed among them as received authorities, and the variety of prejudices planted in their minds in the early part of life. These are strongly supported by the dread of the loss of caste, the consequence of apostacy, which separates a husband from his wife, a father from his son, and a mother from her daughter. Besides, the doctrines which the Missionaries maintain and preach are less conformable with reason than those professed by Moosulmans, and in several points are equally absurd with the popular Hindoo creed. Hence there is no rational inducement for either of these tribes to lay aside their respective doctrines, and adopt those held up by the generality of Christians.

“X. *Are any of the causes of failure of such a nature, that it may be in the power of Unitarian Christians to remove them?*”

Unitarian Christianity is not exposed to the last mentioned objections; for even those who are inimical to every religion admit, that the Unitarian system is more conformable to the human understanding than any other known creed. But the other obstacles above-mentioned must remain unshaken, until the natives are enabled by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate, by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages, and to relinquish their divisions, as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment.

“XI. *Are there any reasons for believing that Christianity, as it is held by Unitarians, would be more readily received by intelligent Hindoos, than as it is held by Trinitarians?*”

In reply to this question, I repeat what I stated in answer to a question of a similar nature, put to me by Mr. Reed, a gentleman of Boston, viz., “The natives of Hindoostan, in common with those of other countries, are divided into classes, the ignorant and the enlightened. The number of the latter is, I am sorry to say, comparatively very few here: and to these men the idea of a triune-God, a man-God,

and also the idea of the appearance of God in the bodily shape of a dove, or that of the blood of God shed for the payment of a debt, seem entirely Heathenish and absurd, and consequently their sincere conversion to [Trinitarian] Christianity must be morally impossible. But they would not scruple to embrace, or at least to encourage, the Unitarian system of Christianity, were it inculcated on them in an intelligible manner. The former class, I mean the ignorant, must be enemies to both systems of Christianity, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. As they feel great reluctance in forsaking the deities worshipped by their rathers for foreign Gods, in subsituting the blood of God for the water of the Ganges as a purifying substance, so the idea of an invisible Being as the sole object of worship, maintained by Unitarians, is foreign to their understanding. Under these circumstances it would be advisable, in my humble opinion, that one or two, if not more gentlemen, well qualifed to teach English literature and science, and noted for their moral conduct, should be employed to cultivate the understandings of the present ignorant generation, and thereby improve their hearts, that the cause of truth may triumph over false religion, and the desired comfort and happiness may be enjoyed by men of all classes”

“XII. *Can any aid be given by Unitarians to the cause of Christianity in India, with a reasonable prospect of success? If any can be given, of what kind. in what way, by what means?*”

In answer, I beg to refer you to my reply to the preceding question, and only add here, that every one who interests himself in behalf of his fellow-creatures, would confidently anticipate the approaching triumph of true religion, should philanthropy induce you and your friends to send to Bengal as many serious and able teachers of European learning and science and Christian morality, unmingled with religious doctrines, as your circumstances may admit, to spread knowledge gratuitously among the native community, in connexion with the Rev. Mr. Adam whose thorough acquaintance with the language, manners, and prejudices of the natives, renders him well qualified to co-operate with them with every prospect of success.

“XIII. *Would it be of any use to send Unitarian Missionaries with a view to their preaching Christianity for the purpose of converting adult natives?*”

Much good cannot be expected from public preachings at present, on account of the obstacles above-mentioned. It is, however, hoped,

that some of the teachers that may be sent out may preach with gradual success in the public places of worship

"XIV. Would it be useful to establish Unitarian Missionary Schools for the instruction of the children of natives in the rudiments of a European education, in the English language, in Christian morality, mingling with it very little instruction relative to the doctrines of Christianity, leaving them chiefly or wholly out of view, to be learned afterwards from our books and our example?"

This would be certainly of great use, and this is the only way of improving their understandings, and ultimately meliorating their hearts

"XV. Are there many intelligent natives who are willing to learn the languages of Europe, to cultivate its literature, and to make themselves acquainted with our religion as it is found in our books, and to examine the evidences of its truth and divine origin?"

There are numerous intelligent natives, who thirst after European knowledge and literature, but not many who wish to be made acquainted with the Christian religion and to examine its truth, being chiefly deterred by the difficulty (if not utter impossibility) attached to the acquirement of a correct notion of the tremendous mystical doctrines which the Missionaries ascribe to their religion.

"XVI. Are there many respectable natives who are willing to have their children educated in the English language and in English learning and arts?"

The desire of educating children in the English language and in English arts is found even in the lowest classes of the community, and I may be fully justified in saying that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning.

"XVII. What benefits have arisen, or are likely to arise, from the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages of the East? Are they read by any who are not already Christians? And are they likely to be read generally even by them? The question is suggested by the representations which have been made, that converts to Christianity are mostly, if not altogether, of the lowest and most ignorant classes of society. Is this representation true?"

To the best of my knowledge, no benefit has hitherto arisen from the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East, nor can any advantage be expected from the translations in circulation;

they are not read much by those that are not Christians, except by a few whom the Missionaries represent as being "led away by Socinian principles." As to the character of the converts to Christianity, you will be pleased to refer to the replies to the first, second, third, and fourth queries.

"XVIII. *Will any important impression, favourable to Christianity ever be made, except by the conversion and through the influence of persons of education, and of the higher classes of society, who can read our sacred books in the original, or at least in the English version?*"

Christianity, when represented in its genuine sense in any language whatever, must make a strong impression on every intelligent mind, especially when introduced by persons of education and respectability.

"XIX. *Are the translations which have been made faithful and free from sectarian influence as to the expression of Christian doctrine?*"

To both parts of this query my reply must be in the negative. I at the same time acquit these translators of wilful neglect or intentional perversion. They were, I think, too hasty to engage themselves in so difficult an undertaking.

Ideas, in general, are as differently expressed in the idioms of the East from those of the West, as the East is remote from the West. Greater difficulty, therefore, must be experienced by a native of Europe in communicating European ideas in the idioms of Asia, than in conveying Asiatic ideas into the languages of Europe; so a native of Asia experiences greater inconvenience in expressing Asiatic ideas in European idioms, than in translating European ideas into an Asiatic language.

About four years ago, the Rev. Mr. Adam, and another Baptist Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Yates, both well reputed for their oriental and classic acquirements, engaged, in common with myself, to translate the New Testament into Bengalee, and we met twice every week, and had for our guidance all the translations of the Bible, by different authors, which we could procure. Notwithstanding our exertions we were obliged to leave the accurate translation of several phrases to future consideration, and for my own part I felt discontented with the translation adopted of several passages, though I tried frequently, when alone at home, to select more eligible expressions, and applied

to native friends for their aid for that purpose I beg to assure you, that I (though a native of this country) do not recollect having engaged myself once, during my life, in so difficult a task, as the translation of the New Testament into Bengalee.

"XX. Are there any particular parts of India or of the East, where efforts for propagating Christianity, or preparing the way for it, might be made with better hopes than in others?"

Calcutta, the Capital of the British Empire in India, where the natives are more conversant with English, and frequently associate with European gentlemen, is, in my humble opinion, preferable as a field for such efforts to the rest of Hindoostan, as the native inhabitants of Bengal, in a great degree, follow the example of the opulent natives of Calcutta.

THE TYTLER CONTROVERSY.

**A VINDICATION
OF THE
INCARNATION OF THE DEITY,
AS THE COMMON BASIS
OF
HINDOOISM AND CHRISTIANITY
AGAINST THE SCHISMATIC ATTACKS
OF
R. TYTLER, Esq., M. D.,
BY
RAM DOSS.**

1823.

DEDICATION
TO ALL BELIEVERS IN THE INCARNATION OF THE
DEITY.

FELLOW-BELIEVERS.

The following correspondence between the renowned Dr. R. Tytler and myself was partly given to the world through the medium of the BENGAL HURKARU ; but as the Editor of that Paper refused to admit some of my letters into its pages, and those published were widely separated from each other by being mixed up with various extraneous matters, I have deemed it advisable to have the whole collected together and presented at one view, for general edification.

My object in addressing Dr. Tytler (as will be seen from a perusal of the following pages,) was, that all Believers in the Manifestation of God in the flesh, whether Hindoo or Christian, might unite in support of our Common Cause, and cordially co-operate in our endeavours to check the alarming growth of the Unitarian heresy ; but unfortunately my hopes were entirely disappointed, as Dr. Tytler not only refused to repair the breach, I conceived his writings calculated to make, but to my great surprise and regret, in return for my friendly offers of assistance, he applied to me and to my religion the most opprobrious abuse, and treated me as if my Faith were inimical to the tenets of his Creed.

I am, your friend and fellow-believer,

Calcutta, June 3, 1823.

RAM DOSS.*

* Ram Doss is the name assumed by Rammohun Roy in many of his satirical writings.—ED.

A VINDICATION
OF THE
INCARNATION OF THE DEITY, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

The Correspondence was occasioned by a passage in a letter of Dr Tytler's, published in the BENGAL HURKARU of the 30th of May 1823 directed against Rammohun Roy, a person who, as is well known, is strongly reprobated by the zealous, both among Hindoos and Christians, for his daring impiety in rejecting the doctrine of Divine Incarnations. But the Doctor while censuring this stubborn Heretic, most unwarrantably introduced contemptuous allusions to the Hindoo Deities, as will be seen from the passage referred to which is here subjoined :—

Extract from the Hurkaru of May 3rd, 1823.

He (Rammohun Roy) thus proceeds in the same epistle. "Whether you be a faithful believer in the Divinity of the Holy *Lord and Saviour* JESUS CHRIST or of any other mortal man; or whether a Hindu declares himself a faithful believer in the Divinity of his Holy *Thakoor Trata RAM*, or MUNOO—I feel equally indifferent about these notions." Here I pause, for the purpose of asking the candid Reader what would have been said, if, at the time Rammohun Roy continued in his belief of Siva, Vishnu and Ganeah, I had personally addressed a letter to him, replete with vituperation of him and his opinions? Would it not have been asserted, and very justly, that I was attacking him, and his gods, and wounding the religious feelings of a Hindu? Yet this *Unitarian*, as he now professes himself, thinks proper to leave the subject of discussion, namely, a proposal to hold a "Religious Conference," and tells me flatly that my belief in the DIVINITY OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR is on a par with a Hindu's belief in his *Thakoor*!!! —Yes, Christian Readers, such is the fact; and when I offer to defend myself from such vile imputations by arguments drawn from those Holy Scriptures to which this Unitarian himself appeals, I am given to understand, that this Reviler of my FAITH, the FAITH OF MY ANCESTORS, will not condescend to listen, unless my reply receives the stamp of orthodoxy from the signature of a Missionary!!!

May 2, 1823.

R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S FIRST LETTER TO DR. TYTLER.

The Editor of the *Hurkaru* having refused insertion to the following, it was privately forwarded to Dr. Tytler :—

To Dr. R. Tytler.

SIR,

I happened to read a letter in the "*Hurkaru*" of the 3rd instant, under the signature of R. Tytler, which has excited my wonder and astonishment. For I had heard that you were not only profoundly versed in the knowledge of the ancients, but intimately acquainted with the learning and opinions of the present age. But I felt quite disappointed when I perceived that you entertained ideas so erroneous respecting the Hindoo religion.

Is there any Hindoo who would be offended at being told by a believer in the INVISIBLE GOD, that this man is indifferent about his (the Hindoo's) faith in the divinity of his Holy THAKOOR and TRATA RAM or MUNOO ? We know that these self-conceited sects who profess reverence for only *one* DEITY are apt to express their indifference for the holy INCARNATION of the Divine Essence believed in by Hindoos as well as by Christians ; and in fact that the followers of any one religion have little respect for the opinions of those of another. But can this give concern or surprise to the enlightened and well-informed persons who have seen and conversed with various sects of men ?

I am more particularly astonished that a man of your reputed learning and acquirements, should be offended at the mention of the resemblance of your belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ with a Hindoo's belief in his Thakoor, because you ought to know that our religious faith and yours are founded on the same sacred basis, viz., the MANIFESTATION OF GOD IN THE FLESH, without any restriction to a dark or fair complexion, large or small stature, long or short hair. You cannot surely be ignorant that the Divine RAM was the reputed son of Dushuruth, of the offspring of Bhuggeeruth, of the tribe of Rughoo, as Jesus was the reputed son of Joseph, of the House of David, of the Tribe of Judah. RAM was the King of the Rughoos and of Foreigners, while in like manner JESUS was King of the Jews and Gentiles. Both are stated in the respective sacred books handed down to us, to have performed very wonderful miracles and both ascended up to Heaven. Both were tempted by the Devil while on the earth, and both have been worshiped by millions up to the present day. Since God can be

born of the Tribe of Judah, how, I ask, is it impossible that he should be born of the Tribe of Rughoo, or of any other nation or race of men? And as the human form and feelings of RAM afford sceptics no good argument against his omnipresent and divine nature, it must be evident to you that this deluded sect of Unitarianism can lay no stress on the human form and feelings of Jesus Christ as disproving his divinity.

When therefore the resemblance is so very striking, and ought to be known to you as well as to every other man having the least pretensions to an acquaintance with the learning and religion of the Natives of India,— how is it possible that you can feel offended at the mention of a fact so notorious? You may perhaps urge, that there is a wide difference between a belief in THREE Persons in the Godhead as maintained by you, and belief in three hundred and thirty millions of Persons in the Godhead, entertained by the Hindoos. But as all such numerical objections are founded on the frail basis of human reason, which we well know is fallible, you must admit that the same omnipotence, which can make THREE ONE and ONE THREE, can equally reconcile the UNITY and PLURALITY of three hundred and thirty millions, both being supported by a sublime mystery which far transcends all human comprehension.

The vain and narrow-minded believers in *one* INVISIBLE God accuse the followers of the Trinity as well as us the sincere worshippers of Ram and other Divine Incarnations, of being Idolaters; and policy therefore might have suggested to you the propriety of maintaining a good understanding and brotherhood among all who have correct notions of the manifestation of God in the flesh, that we may cordially join and go hand in hand, in opposing, and, if possible, extirpating the abominable notion of a SINGLE God, which strikes equally at the root of Hindooism and Christianity. However, it is not too late for you to reflect on your indiscretion, and atone for it by expressing your regret at having written and published anything calculated to create dissension among the worshippers of Divine Incarnations.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RAM DOSS

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING

To Ram Doss

I have received your letter and beg you to receive my best thanks for the trouble you have put yourself to, in sending it to me. It was my intention this evening to have proved that *Hindu Idolatry* and *Unitarianism* are the same, and that they both proceed from the *Devil*. Unfortunately Mr. Robinson, in consequence of the number who were anxious to attend, has requested me to postpone the meeting, to which of course I have acceded. But I am ready,—MIND ME, READY,—to meet you and your runnagate friend Rammohan Roy whenever you please, in public and private discussion, and let you know what a humble individual unsupported can do, armed with no other weapon than the sharp sword of the Gospel in bringing to light the hidden works of darkness, which are at present displayed in the *damnable Heresy* of *Unitarianism* of which you are the wretched tool. But neither you, Rammohun Roy, nor the second fallen ADAM dare meet me because you fear the WORD of TRUTH.

Your inveterate and determined
foe in the LORD,

May 6th, 1823.

(Signed) R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO A REMARK OF THE EDITOR OF
THE BENGAL HURKARU.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

After publishing in your Paper of the 3rd instant Dr. Tytler's letter, throwing out offensive insinuations against the Hindoo Religion, as unworthy to be compared with the Christian, I am truly astonished at your refusal to insert my very friendly reply and expostulation with him for the error and indiscretion into which he has fallen, and that you moreover defend him in the following words: "We would hint to Ram Doss that there is in our opinion a wide difference between the belief which maintains God to have appeared in the *Flesh* and that of the " Hindoo who believes the appearance of the Omnipotent Being in the shape of a *Thakoor*, which if we are not mistaken, is composed of stone, metal or wood."

I must remark, first, on the total unacquaintance you have displayed, with the Hindoo Religion, notwithstanding your residence in the capital of Bengal, in which however you are more excusable than Dr. Tytler, considering his high pretensions to learning. Can you find a single Hindoo in the whole of India, who imagines that the divine Ram, the son of Dushuruth by Koushilya his mother according to the flesh, was composed either of wood, stone or metal? If you can find even one, there may be some excuse for your mistake in supposing, what is so wide of the fact. You may, of course, find numerous consecrated images or statues of the holy Ram, in the Hindoo temples, formed of wood and other materials, placed there for the pious purpose of attracting the attention of devotees to that Divine Incarnation,—although many good Hindoos do not consider such representations as necessary, and worship Ram directly without the intervention of any sensible object. But can you suppose for a moment that a model or picture of any person, whether divine or human, can identify that being with such representation or convert the original existence into the same materials? If this were the case, then the number of men so unfortunate as to have statues or portraits of themselves made, must lose their real essence—their original elements necessarily degenerating into stone, or paint and canvass.

But it is indisputable that neither the image of the Holy Jesus in Roman Catholic Churches, nor the representations of the Divine Ram in the Hindoo Temples, are identified with either of those sacred persons.

As you have refused to publish my letter in answer to Dr. Tytler's attack, I shall take an opportunity of sending it directly to himself for his consideration and reply, and purpose very soon laying this controversy before the public through some other channel with proper mention of your partial conduct, in circulating Dr. Tytler's insulting insinuations against the Hindoo Religion and withholding my answer thereto for its vindication. I expect you will kindly insert this letter in your Paper of to-morrow along with a justification of your own observations of this morning.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RAM DOSS.

REMARKS OF THE EDITOR RELATIVE TO THE FOREGOING.

(Contained in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 8th May.)

In our subsequent pages will be found a letter signed Ram Doss, which we insert with pleasure, with a desire of convincing him that we are really impartial in our views of the subject of which it treats. In explanation of our refusal to insert the former letter of Ram Doss, we owe it to him to say that although it justly deserves the appellation of a "very friendly reply" and although it was written with much ability, yet it appeared to us to overstep the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, by entering too far into the subject of the original dispute between the two classes of religious professors, instead of being confined to the discussion of the subject between Rammohun Roy and Dr. Tytler, namely, the right of the latter to demand, and of the former to afford, facilities for the purpose of the discussion of the point at issue between them. It was under these circumstances and with this feeling that we declined to insert RAM Doss's communication, and we beg to assure him that it was not from any disrespect to him, or partiality for Dr. Tytler or his doctrines.

Having disposed of this part of the subject, we trust, to the satisfaction of RAM Doss, we shall simply remark on the other, that we never intended to intimate that any sensible Hindoo could for one moment suppose that God was personally present in an image of brass, stone or metal; but we have no hesitation in asserting that such an opinion does prevail, not only among the Hindoos, but amongst the ignorant of all classes whose religious faith prescribes the worship of images as the medium of access to the Deity. We really ought not to enter on the discussion of any of the points connected with the religious worship of the Hindoos, as we have had but very few opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with them, and if we are now in any error on these subjects, we trust that RAM Doss will attribute it to the causes which we have thus explained, and not to any feeling of partiality towards Dr. Tytler, or of misrepresentation of the objects of his own worship.

RAM DOSS'S FIRST CHALLENGE TO DR. R. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru

SIR.

Being disappointed in my just expectation of having my answer to Dr. Tytler's insinuations inserted in your Paper, I yesterday sent it to the Doctor himself for his consideration; but he avoids making a reply thereto, and in answer to my arguments, merely returns abuse against me, and likewise against our common enemies, the Unitarians, for which last, I, of course, care nothing.

I take this opportunity of informing the Public that this Goliath, notwithstanding his high pretensions to learning, and presumption in setting himself up as the champion of Christianity, shrinks from the defence of the charges he has brought against Hindooism, and that he refuses to co-operate with me in opposing Unitarianism, although he declares in his note to me that it is a system of damnable heresy proceeding from the Devil.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

May 7, 1823.

RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

As I do not intend this letter to have any direct reference to the subject of religious discussion, you will oblige me by giving it insertion into the columns of the Hurkaru. Two days ago I received an epistle subscribed Ram Doss, which I was led to conclude must have been written by some Unitarian under a pseudonymous signature. But it appears from a letter, which is published in your paper of this day, I may have been mistaken; and I am, therefore, anxious to inform Ram Doss, if he be a real person, that I consider there is no book at present in possession of *Hindus*,—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* not excepted,—of higher antiquity than the entrance of the Musulmans into India,—say about 800 years from the present period. The legends attached to the *Avatars* are merely perverted, and corrupted copies of the Holy Scriptures in the possession of Christians, and have no particular relation to the ancient religion, whatever it may have been, of the inhabitants of this country. Should Ram Doss therefore be a real person, and wish to obtain information on those topics, it will

afford me sincere pleasure to meet him, either at my own house or any other he may appoint, at some hour convenient to us both, for the purpose of explaining the arguments which support the views, I have taken, of the *modernness* of the religious system at present followed by the Hindus

Your obedient servant.

May 8, 1823,

R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S SECOND CHALLENGE TO
DR. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

Dr Tytler having been unable to make a direct reply to the arguments conveyed in my letter to him, dated the 5th instant, has taken refuge in your Paper, knowing very well that he would prevail upon you to insert every assertion that he might make against our Sacred Books and Holy Incarnations, and that you as a Christian would excuse yourself for declining to give publicity to my retaliation upon him.

I therefore challenge him through your Pages for a reply to my arguments in the shape of a letter, so that I may endeavour through some other means to publish all our correspondence for the consideration and judgment of the Public.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

May 9th, 1823,

RAM DOSS

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR.

Your correspondent, Ram Doss, in "informing the public," that I consider "Unitarianism a system of damnable heresy proceeding from the Devil," has forgot to mention that such was also my expressed opinion to him respecting the superstitions to which he is so extremely partial. Under those circumstances is it reasonable to expect, I will allow him to co-operate with me, as he calls it, "against our common enemies," when in fact I maintain Unitarianism to be nothing more than a new name for Hindu Idolatry?

Your obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 10, 1823.

R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S THIRD CHALLENGE

Dr. TYTLER.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

One of the objects of my letter to Dr. Tytler, was to solicit the co-operation of the Doctor in opposing Unitarians. The other, to refute his insinuations against Hindooism and prove that it was founded on the same sacred basis (the Manifestation of God in the flesh) with Doctor Tytler's own Faith.

From the Doctor's letter in your paper of this morning, I see he positively shrinks from entering the field with me against Unitarianism, leaving me thus to encounter the danger and reap the glory single-handed.

I now request to be informed through the medium of your paper, whether the Doctor also flinches from justifying his insinuations against the Hindoo Religion, and replying to my letter proving Hindooism and Christianity to rest on the same sacred foundation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

May 12, 1823.

RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

The assertion of Ram Doss, that "I shrink from entering the field against Unitarianism, leaving him thus to encounter the danger and reap the glory single-handed" when all Calcutta is acquainted with the contrary, and no one better than the Unitarians themselves, is really too absurd to require notice.

In support of what this writer calls "my insinuations against the Hindu Religion," I refer him to the histories of Buddha, Saluvahana, and Chrishna, and maintain that they comprise nothing more than perverted copies of Christianity. Let him shew the reverse if he can.

Your obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 13, 1823.

R. TYTLER.

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

You are aware that I have three times through the medium of your paper, called upon Dr. Tytler, to reply to the ARGUMENTS contained in the letter, forwarded to him by me and the receipt of which he acknowledged in a *torrent of abuse*, and that he has, as often as thus publicly called upon, returned an evasive answer, which proves that he inwardly shrinks from the combat.

With a view to defend his offensive insinuations, against Hindooism, he now refers me to the Histories of Buddha (the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism,) Saluvahana (an Indian Prince) and Chrishna, a divine Incarnation, without attempting to bring forward from these anything against the justness of my arguments. I now, Sir, beg leave to appeal to you, whether if any Hindoo were to make insinuations against the Christian Religion, when called to defend them, he would be justified in merely referring Christians to the Books of the Jews (a tribe equally inimical to Christianity,) or Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, or to a whole History of Jesus Christ, without adducing any particular passage. I now for the FOURTH and last time call upon the Doctor, either to answer precisely my arguments already in his possession, or confess publicly that he is totally unable to justify his insinuations against a Religion founded on the Sacred basis of the manifestation of God in the flesh, and that knowing the badness of his cause, he shrinks from meeting me on the fair field of *Regular Argument*, instead of which he has given me only abuse.

I have nothing to say respecting his mode of opposing our common enemies, the Unitarians, and grant him freely the honour of his individual exertions. Notwithstanding, I think it proper to suggest the expediency of common believers in Divine Incarnations (like the Doctor and myself) joining hand in hand in opposing our inveterate enemy. Our chance of success must be greater when our Force is united, than when it is divided.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant.

RAM DOSS.

May 14, 1823.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO RAM DOSS.

This Reply was in a Postscript to a Letter of Dr. Tytler's (dated May 15,) addressed to the Editor of the BENGAL HURKARU, and published in that Paper of the 16th May.

"I request" (said the Doctor) "to be informed by your sapient correspondent Ram Doss, in what manner he proves Buddha to be 'the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism.'"

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

The only reply which Dr. Tytler makes to my Fourth Challenge published in your paper yesterday is as follows, viz,—

"P. S.—I request to be informed by our sapient correspondent Ram Doss in what manner he proves Buddha to be 'the head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism.'"

I now call on the Public to pronounce whether this query can be considered as a reply to the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to the Doctor, repelling his offensive insinuations and proving that Hindooism and Christianity are founded on the same basis? or if it be not evidently a mere pretence for evading the question? Fully warranted in anticipating a verdict in my favor, I ask what opinion will the world form of a man who with some pretensions to learning and great professions of Religion, while defying the whole world in the field of Religious discussion, first utters degrading insinuations against a Faith founded on exactly the same basis as his own, and then when repeatedly challenged to *justify* this conduct resorts to such *Shuffling* and *Evasion*? However to oblige the Doctor as a fellow believer in, and worshipper of, Divine Incarnations, I will inform him (although it has no bearing on the question) that Buddha or Booldha, is the head of the sect of *Baudhas*, who derive their name from him in the same manner as Christians do from Christ. That this sect is inimical to Hindooism is proved by the fact that they deny the existence of a Creator of the Universe, in whom the Hindoos believe, and also despise many of the Gods worshipped by the latter. There are hundreds of works published by them against each other which are in general circulation. But all this has nothing to do with my

arguments which the Doctor by *evading* virtually *confesses* he is *unable* to answer. I therefore *denounce* him a *defamer* of Hindooism, a religion of the principles of which he is (or at least appears to be) totally ignorant.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Friday, 16th May, 1823.

RAM DOSS.

DR. TYTLER'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Published in the Hurkaru of May 22nd.

The sapient Ram Doss, now changes his tone,—and tells us the *Bouddhists* “despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos.” It hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities must be objects of their adoration. And yet this writer asserts Buddha to be the “head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism,” while his own statement proves Hindoo Gods to be the objects of *Buddhaic* veneration !

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

In your paper of this day, Dr. Tytler notices my *fifth* Challenge, calling upon him to answer the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to him some weeks ago repelling his offensive insinuations against Hindooism. But how does he justify himself? “The sapient Ram Doss” (says he) “now changes his tone and tells us the *Buddhists* ‘despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos.’ It hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities must be objects of their adoration. And yet this writer asserts Buddha to be the ‘head of a tribe inimical to Hindooism,’ while his own statement proves Hindoo Gods to be the objects of *Buddhaic* veneration.”

I now beg to call the attention of the Public, Christians and not Christians, to the above passage, and request them to pronounce whether the Doctor thereby proves that Hindooism cannot (as insinuated) be compared with Christianity, or refutes my position, that these two religions are founded on the same sacred basis, viz., the Manifestation of God in the Flesh? And I now call on the world to judge, whether the person who can resort to such shuffling and evasion has any just

claim to the character of a man of learning, or a man of probity? What name is bestowed on the man who thus shrink^s from meeting the arguments of his opponent fairly and candidly, and trembling at the force of truth, is glad to make his escape by any mean subterfuge?

It is almost self-degradation or a prostitution of reason to treat his last remark, above quoted, as worthy of notice, viz., that as "Buddhists despise *many* of the Gods worshipped by the Hindoos, it hence follows that *some* of the Hindoo deities **MUST** be subjects of their "adoration"---Indeed!! In what school of *wisdom* did the learned Doctor acquire his Logic? Although I despise or dislike several members of a family, is this a proof that I **MUST** adore the rest? May I not regard the rest with indifference, or be unacquainted with them? But granting even that Buddhists do worship some of the Hindoo Gods, while they despise others, may they not still be inimical to Hindooism? For, don't the Jews despise one of the Christian Gods, worship another, and are indifferent to a third and yet are they not inveterate enemies of Christianity?

I now only wish to know from what College or University the Doctor procured a Certificate, authorizing him to assume the Title of M. D and whether that seat of Learning in the distribution of its *Academic Honors* usually selects such worthy objects.

I am, Sir your obedient servant,

Thursday, 22nd May, 1823.

RAM DOSS.

P. S. I congratulate the Doctor on his victory (as reported by himself in your paper of to-day) over our common enemies the Unitarians (these deluded deniers of Divine Incarnations), and I regret I was not present to share in the triumph.—R. D

Dr. Tytler being now, it appears, completely silenced, a Friend, under the signature of A Christian, came forward to his assistance in the following Letter :—

LETTER OF A CHRISTIAN TO RAM DOSS.

To the Editor of the Hurkaru

SIR,

It is gratifying to the lovers of science, to behold a few intelligent Hindoos emerging from the degraded ignorance and shameful superstition, in which their fathers for so many centuries have been

buried. It is no less pleasing to the friends of humanity, to find that one of the most learned of the Hindoo Brahmans has not only abandoned the doctrine which countenances the cruel and abominable practice of matricide, but also ably confuted his compeers, who were advocates for having human victims sacrificed to Moloch.

On the other hand it is a sad contemplation, that these very individuals who are indebted to Christians for the civil liberty they enjoy, as well as for the rays of intelligence, now beginning to dawn on them, should in the most ungenerous manner insult their benefactors, by endeavouring to degrade their religion, for no other reason, because they cannot comprehend its sublime Mysteries.

My attention has been particularly attracted to this subject by a letter signed "RAM DOSS" which appeared in your paper of yesterday.

This Hindoo with whom I have no personal acquaintance had the arrogance to lay before the public the following passage: "I now call on the *public* to pronounce whether this query can be considered as a reply to the arguments contained in my letter forwarded to the Doctor repelling his offensive insinuations and proving that *Hindooism and Christianity are founded on the same basis?*" Ram Doss here appeals to the public, and he will of course grant me the same privilege. I will therefore ask, --Christian Readers, are you so far degraded by Asiatic effeminacy as to behold with indifference your holy and immaculate RELIGION thus degraded by having it placed on an equality with Hindooism--with rank idolatry--with disgraceful ignorance and shameful superstition?

Will Ram Doss or his associates be pleased to inform me, if the *Incarnation of his God* was foretold by Prophets through a period of four thousand years? Or will he demonstrate the mission or divine incarnation of his *Deity* by incontestable and stupendous miracles such as Christ wrought? Will he assert that the doctrine of Hindooism is as pure and undefiled as that of Christianity? Or in fine, will he prove that the human character has ever been exalted by any religious system so much as by the sweet influence of Christianity?

If RAM DOSS is not able satisfactorily to clear up a single point of what I now submit to his serious consideration, it is manifest, that in common civility, he should refrain from insulting Christians by putting their religion on a comparison with Hindooism.

Rammohun Roy, who appears to me to be the most learned of the Hindoos, is so far from making such odious and offensive remarks, that he apparently gives the preference to Christianity. *Vide*, his First Appeal entitled "the precepts of Christ, the guide to peace and happiness." I regret the learned Brahman was interrupted by the intemperate zeal of the Baptists in the praiseworthy course he intended to have pursued as set forth in his preface to the work above alluded to.

I conclude by recommending your sapient correspondent RAM DOSS to employ his time and talents in laudable and pious endeavours to reclaim his countrymen from *idolatry*, rather than attempt to investigate mysteries that are far above the weak comprehensions of man. I also recommend him to beware of such Christians as are carried away with every wind of doctrine, and who "know not what they do."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A CHRISTIAN

RAM DOSS'S REPLY TO THE CHRISTIAN.

[Published in a Pamphlet containing an account of Dr. Tytler's Lecture circulated with the Bengal Hurkaru Newspaper.]

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,

I regret to observe by the Letter in your Paper of this morning signed "A Christian," that in repelling the offensive insinuations of Dr. Tytler against the Hindoo Religion, I am considered by one of the Christian denomination as endeavouring to degrade his "Faith."

It is well known to you, Sir, that I privately sent a Letter to the Doctor, refuting his position in the most friendly, calm, and argumentative manner, to which he returned a note loading me with the grossest abuse; consequently I thought myself justified in challenging him publicly to make a reply to my arguments. The *Christian* therefore cannot conceal from himself that it is *I* and *my* Faith which have been vilified and abused and that in return, I have offered *not* insult, but merely reason and argument; for it cannot be considered insult for a man to say that another religion is founded on the same basis with his own, which he believes to be all that is venerable and sacred.

If by the "Ray of Intelligence" for which the *Christian* says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express my assent and also my gratitude; but with respect to *Science*, *Literature*, or *Religion*, I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to history it may be proved that the World was indebted to *our ancestors* for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copius language of our own, which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners.

Rammohun Roy's abandonment of Hindoo doctrines (as "A Christian" mentions) cannot prove them to be erroneous; no more than the rejection of the Christian Religion by hundreds of persons who were originally Christians and more learned than Rammohun Roy, proves the fallacy of Christianity. We Hindoos regard him in the same light as Christians do Hume, Voltaire, Gibbon and other sceptics.

Before "A Christian" indulged in a tirade about persons being "degraded by Asiatic effeminacy" he should have recollected that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay even Jesus Christ himself, a Divine Incarnation and the *founder* of the Christian Faith, were ASIATICS, so that if a Christian thinks it degrading to be born or to reside in *Asia*, he directly reflects upon them.

First.—The *Christian* demands "Will Ram Doss or his associates be pleased to inform me, if the *Incarnation of his God* was first retold by Prophets through a period of four thousand years?" I answer in the affirmative. The Incarnation of *Ram* was foretold in the works of many holy and inspired men for more than 4,000 years previous to the event in the most precise and intelligible language; not in those ambiguous and equivocal terms found in the *Old Testament*, respecting the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, an ambiguity which it is well known has afforded our common enemies, the Unitarians, a handle for raising a doubt of Jesus Christ being a real Manifestation of God in the flesh.

Secondly.—The *Christian* demands of RAM Doss "Will he demonstrate the mission or divine incarnation of his deity by incontestable and stupendous miracles such as Christ wrought?"

I answer, Yes: The divine Ram performed miracles more stupendous, not before multitudes of ignorant people only, but in the presence of Princes and of thousands of learned men, and of those who were inimical to Hindooism. I admit the Jeins and other unbelievers ascribed Ram's miraculous power to a Demoniacal Spirit, in the same manner as the Jews attributed the miracles of Jesus to the power of Beelzebub; but neither of these objections are worthy of notice from believers in Divine Incarnations, since the performance of the miracles themselves is incontestably proved by tradition.

Thirdly.—The *Christian* asks “Will he (Ram Doss) assert that the Doctrine of Hinduism is as pure and undefiled as that of Christianity?” Undoubtedly, such is my assertion: and an English translation of the Vedant as well as of Munoo (which contains the essence of the whole Veds) being before the public, I call on reflecting men to compare the two religions together and point out in what respect the one excels the other in purity? Should the *Christian* attempt to ridicule some part of the ritual of the Veds I shall of course feel myself justified in referring to ceremonies of a similar character in the *Christian* Scriptures; and if he dwell on the corrupt notions introduced into Hindooism in more modern times, I shall also remind him of the corruptions introduced by various sects into Christianity. But *A Christian* must know very well that such corruptions cannot detract from the excellence of Genuine Religions themselves.

Fourthly.—The *Christian* asks, “Will he (Ram Doss) prove that the human character has ever been exalted by any system of religion so much as by the sweet influence of Christianity.” In reply, I appeal to History, and call upon the *Christian* to mention any religion on the face of the earth that has been the cause of so much war and bloodshed, cruelty and oppression, for so many hundred years as this whose “sweet influence” he celebrates.

That propriety of conduct found among the better sort of Christians is entirely owing to the superior education they have enjoyed; a proof of which is, that others of the same rank in society, although not believers in Christianity, are distinguished by equal propriety of conduct, which is not the case with the most firm believers, if destitute of Education or without the means of improvement by mixing in company with persons, better instructed than themselves.

908 THE COMMON BASIS OF HINDOOISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is unjust in the *Christian* to quarrel with Hindoos because (he says) they cannot comprehend the sublime mystery of his Religion, since he is equally unable to comprehend the sublime mysteries of ours, and since both these mysteries equally transcend the human understanding, one cannot be preferred to the other.

Let us however return to the main question, viz. that THE INCARNATION OF THE DEITY IS THE COMMON BASIS OF HINDOOISM AND CHRISTIANITY. If the manifestation of God in the flesh is possible, such possibility cannot reasonably be confined to Judea or Ayodhya, for God has undoubtedly the power of manifesting himself in either country and of assuming any colour or name he pleases. If it is impossible, as our common enemies, the Unitarians, contend, such impossibility must extend to all places and persons. I trust therefore the *Christian* will reflect with great seriousness on this subject and will be kind enough to let me know the result.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Calcutta, May 23, 1823..

RAM DOSS.

*Ram Doss having heard nothing more publicly or privately from Dr. Tytler or "A Christian" the correspondence here concluded, and the arguments adduced in vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity consequently remain unanswered.**

* This controversy began in the 3rd of May and ended on the 23rd of May, 1823. The whole was published in the form of a pamphlet on the 3rd of June. After the publication of this pamphlet, the dispute was renewed, but this latter controversy (which was carried on in the *India Gazette* and the *Advertiser* from June 12th to June 29th, and was published in a pamphlet in July 14th) we have thought fit not to publish, as it is composed only of some trifling letters. We only give below the introduction by the Rajah to this second pamphlet: —

"After the foregoing pages had been issued from the press, Dr. Tytler, evidently ashamed to confess his defeat, began again in the public prints to assign various excuses for his not having answered me. These, with the replies they called forth, are now collected together that the Public may be further enabled to appreciate the character and conduct of this Reviler of Hindooism. Although the Doctor carried the correspondence from the Newspapers, where both parties might expect fair play and their communications to be inserted free of charge, to the Advertiser of his own Publisher in which the arguments of his opponent could not find admission without payment; even under these unfavourable circumstances I continued the controversy, till Mr. Crichton, the Doctor's Publisher, refused to insert one of my communications sent him on Sunday the 29th June, on the groundless pretence that Dr. Tytler had left Calcutta and therefore could not answer it; but this collusion between him and his Publisher instead of enabling him to retreat with honor will only render his final discomfiture the more inglorious.

Calcutta. July 14th 1823.

RAM DOSS."

—En.

A DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
A MISSIONARY
AND
THREE CHINESE CONVERTS.

A D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN

A MISSIONARY AND THREE CHINESE CONVERTS

Missionary. How many Gods are there, my brethren !

1st Convert. Three.

2nd Convert. Two.

3rd Convert. None.

Missionary. Horrid ! The answers are from the Devil.

All. We know not where you got the religion which you have taught us, but thus you have taught us.

Missionary. Blasphemers !

All. We have heard you with patience nor ever thought of crying out against you, how much so ever you surprised us by your doctrine.

Missionary. (Recovering himself and addressing the 1st convert.) Come, come, recollect : how can you imagine that there are three Gods ?

1st Convert. You told me there was God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and by my Swanpan I find that one and one and one are three.

Missionary. O ! I see your blunder. You remember but half the lesson. I told you also that these Three are One.

1st Convert. I know you did, but I thought you had forgotten yourself, and concluded that you spoke the truth at first.

Missionary. O no ! You must believe not only that there are Three persons, each God, and equal in power and glory, but also, that these Three are One.

1st Convert. That is impossible. In China we do not believe contradictions

Missionary. Brother ! It is a mystery.

1st Convert. What is that, pray ?

Missionary. It is—it is—I know not what to say to you, except that it is something which you cannot possibly comprehend.

1st Convert. (Smiling.) And is it this that you have been sent 10,000 miles to teach ?

Missionary. O the power of carnal reason ! Surely, some Socinian has been doing the Devil's work in China.

But (turning to the 2nd convert,) how could you imagine, there are two Gods?

2nd Convert. I thought there were many more till you came and lessened the number.

Missionary. Have I ever told you that there are two Gods? (Aside.) The stupidity of this people makes me almost despair.

2nd Convert. True, you have not said in so many words that there are two Gods, but you have said what implies it.

Missionary. Then you have been tempted to reason upon this mystery.

2nd Convert. We, Chinese, are wont to put things together and to come at truth by comparison. Thus you said there were three persons that were each perfect God, and then you said one of these persons died in one of the countries of the West, a long while ago; and I therefore concluded the present number to be two.

Missionary. Astonishing depravity! O the depths of Satan! It is in vain to reason with these poor benighted creatures. But (addressing the 3rd convert) perverse as your two brethren are, you appear worse than they: what can you possibly mean by answering that there are no Gods?

3rd Convert. I heard you talk of three, but I paid more particular attention to what you said on the point of there being only one. This I could understand; the other I could not; and as my belief never reaches above my understanding (for you know I am no learned Mandarin) I set it down in my mind that there was but one God, and that you take your name of Christian from him.

Missionary. There is something in this; but I am more and more astonished at your answer—"None."

3rd Convert. (Taking up the Swanpan.) Here is one. I remove it. There is none.

Missionary. How can this apply?

3rd Convert. Our minds are not like yours in the West, or you would not ask me. You told me again and again, that there never was but one God, that Christ was the true God, and that a nation of merchants living at the head of the Arabian gulf, put him to death upon a tree, about eighteen hundred years ago. Believing you, what other answer could I give than "None"?

Missionary. I must pray for you, for you all deny the true faith, and living and dying thus, you will without doubt perish everlasting.

1st Convert. Cong-foo-tse, our revered master, says that bad temper always turns reason out of doors, and that when men begin to curse, the Good Spirit of the universe abandons their hearts.

2nd Convert. You must be angry with yourself and not with us, for you have been teaching us at different times doctrines as contradictory as those of Cong-foo-tse and Buddha. The immortal emperor Sinchong has said that he is not to be numbered with wise men, nor to have a name in the hall of ancestors, who undertakes a voyage without making up his mind to its purpose, and preparing himself to give a clear and kind answer to the question of a stranger.

3rd Convert. These rebukes are just: but Ter-whangtee says, in his golden words, that mirth is better than rice. You came, it seems, to bring us a new riddle: but while we thank you, we beg to inform you that Kienlong, our late celestial emperor, has supplied us with a plentiful store, much more entertaining than yours; and when you can read as well as speak our divine language, we recommend to you his delectable history of the Mantchoo Tartar, that pretended to be inspired by the Grand Lama, but could never be made to comprehend the Swanpan.

SPEECHES AND LETTERS

SPEECHES AND LETTERS.

S P E E C H E S .

I.

Speech on settlement of Europeans in India.

FROM personal experience, I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly. As to the indigo planters, I beg to observe that I have travelled through several districts in Bengal and Behar, and I found the natives residing in the neighbourhood of indigo plantations evidently better clothed and better conditioned than those who lived at a distance from such stations. There may be some partial injury done by the indigo planters; but, on the whole, they have performed more good to the generality of the natives of this country than any other class of Europeans, whether in or out of the service."

II.

Speech by Rammohun Roy at the meeting of the Unitarian Association held in London in his honour.

I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. KIRKLAND and Dr. BOWRING for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a

" A great public meeting was held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 15th of December 1829, for the purpose of petitioning the Parliament to throw open the China and India trade and to remove the restrictions against settlement of Europeans in India. The above is the report of the speech which Ram Mohun Roy is said to have made in supporting the resolution for abolishing the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India. It is reprinted from the Asiatic Journal, Vol. II., New Series, May-August 1830. -- Ed."

brother, and one of your fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have done anything to deserve being called a promoter of this cause, but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done?—I do not know what I have done!—If I have ever rendered you any services they must be very trifling—very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christians; but they always tried to throw difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is also on your side; while power and prejudice are on the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture and common sense; and wealth, power and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.*

* This speech is taken from the *Last days in England of Rajah Ramachandran Raya* by Miss Carpenter. A full report of the proceedings of the meeting is to be found in the *Monthly Repository* of June 1831 (Vol. 7 N. S. pp. 415-429) Ed.

LETTERS.

[The following letters and extracts from letters of Rammohun Roy are taken from the *Last days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* by Miss Carpenter. - Ed.]

Extract from a letter, dated Calcutta, September 5, 1820.

As to the opinion intimated by Sir SAMUEL T---n, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and, moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

On this consideration I have compiled several passages of the New Testament which I thought essential to Christianity, and published them under the designation of *Precepts of Jesus*, at which the Missionaries at Shreera mpoor have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an 'Appeal to the Christian Public,' a few copies of which tracts I have the pleasure to send you, under the care of Captain S---, and intreat your acceptance of them.

I return, with my sincere acknowledgments, the work which Sir S. T. was so kind as to lend me. May I request the favour of you to forward it to Sir S. T., as well as a copy of each of the pamphlets, with my best compliments, and to favour me with your and Sir S. T.'s opinion respecting my idea of Christianity, as expressed in those tracts, when an opportunity may occur, as I am always open to conviction and correction?

Extract from a letter addressed by Raja Rammohun Roy to a gentleman of Baltimore, dated Calcutta, October 27, 1822, (vide Monthly Repository for 1827, Vol. XVIII., p. 433).

I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of

Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions.

I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, but disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. The accompanying pamphlets, called 'The Brahmunical Magazine,' and published by a Brahmun, are a proof of my assertion. The last number of this publication has remained unanswered for twelve months.

If a body of men attempt to upset a system of doctrines generally established in a country, and to introduce another system, they are, in my humble opinion, in duty bound to prove the truth, or, at least, the superiority of their own.

It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find, that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles, are quite different from those human inventions, which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess, and entirely consistent with reason, and the revelation delivered by Moses and the prophets. I am, therefore, anxious to support them, even at the risk of my own life. I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.

I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed; notwithstanding they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the property of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observance.

I shall lose no time in sending you my Final Appeal to the Christian Public, as soon as it is printed.

Extract from a letter, dated December 9, 1822.

Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

We confidently hope that, through these various means the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail.

Letter to Dr T. Rees, of London (vide Monthly Repository, 1824, Vol. XIX., pp. 681-682.)

REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 16th June last, accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

I have no language to express the happiness I derive from the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free the originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power; and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great (if not greater than) that of LUTHER and others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances.

But what disappoints, or rather grieves, me much is that our sovereign (whose reign may God crown with peace and prosperity!) whom all parties, either Whigs or Tories, enthusiastic radicals, or political time-servers, are compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge as the most accomplished person of his time, of most enlightened acquirements, and most liberal sentiments, should not use his royal influence to remove from the members of his National Church the fetter of a solemn oath, imposed by the Thirty-nine Articles, naturally liable to doubt, and disputed as these have been, from the beginning of Christianity, and that he has not caused to be discontinued the repetition of that general denunciation found in the

concluding part of the Athanasian Creel, to wit, 'This is the Catholic faith, which except a man *believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*' The only consolation which I can offer to myself is, that as his Majesty is the best judge of suitable opportunities for the introduction of improvement in the National Church, it is probable that in due time more enlarged principles may receive the Royal sanction.

As to the state of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, our Committee have not yet been able to purchase a suitable piece of ground for a chapel and school. They will, I hope, soon succeed in their endeavours. We have collected, partly by purchase, and partly by gift, a great number of works, and established a pretty respectable library in Calcutta, in which I have placed the books with which you have favoured me, in the same manner as all the books that the Rev. Mr. ADAM, the Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and myself have received at different times from England. Mr. ADAM is preparing a catalogue of the books belonging to this library, and will, I doubt not, send a few copies for the perusal of the Committee in London, Liverpool, &c.

In the month of December last, Mr. R., a member of the firm of Messrs. M. and Co., of this place, left Bengal for Europe, and I embraced that opportunity of answering a letter I had the pleasure of receiving from the venerable Mr. BELSHAM, and begged at the same time his acceptance of a parcel of books sent in charge of that gentleman. I also sent a duplicate by the hands of Mr. S. A., a Member of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, and a particular friend of mine. As subsequent to these despatches I received the books stated in Mr. BELSHAM's letter to have been forwarded to my address, I beg to send a short letter acknowledging the receipt of them; which I shall feel obliged by your transmitting to that gentleman.

I have the pleasure of sending you for your acceptance a few tracts as a token of regard and respect, and remain,

Yours most obediently,

CALCUTTA, June 4, 1824.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

P.S.—From the pamphlet, Nos. 6 and 7, published by a neighbour of mine, and another by a friend, you will perceive to what a degree of ridicule the Trinitarian preachers have brought the religion they profess among the enlightened natives of India. I hope to God these Missionaries may at length have their eyes opened to see their own errors.

R. M. R.

Letter to Mr. Buckingham

MY DEAR SIR,—A disagreeable circumstance will oblige me to be out the whole of this afternoon, and as I shall probably on my return home feel so much fatigued as to be unfit for your company, I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe. I would force myself to wait on you to-night, as I proposed to do, were I not convinced of your willingness to make allowance for unexpected circumstances.

From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy.

Under these circumstance I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be, ultimately successful.

Adieu, and believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

RAMMONIX ROY.

August 11th, 1821.

Letter to J. B. Estlin, Esq., of Bristol.

DEAR SIR.—Mrs. MARTIN being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father's Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honour to receive through Mrs. MYRTLE upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration

of the accident alluded to, you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.

I rejoice to learn that the friends of the cause of religious truth have exerted themselves in the promotion of the true system of religion in India, and have remitted about 15,000 rupees to the care of Messrs ALEXANDER and Co. for religious purposes, and that the Rev. Mr. ADAM hopes to be enabled to resume his missionary pursuits by the latter end of this month. The time of a fair trial is approaching, and truth I doubt not will expose the corruptions and absurd notions which have gradually disfigured genuine Christianity, and have brought it to a level with heathen mythology. I am happy to inform you that the books which you kindly presented me with were deservedly placed in our Library, under the care of the Rev. Mr. ADAM. A few copies of the Improved Version will be of much use to our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Fox has intimated his intention to furnish us with a certain number of that work.

Should you happen to see Dr. CARPENTER, you will oblige me by presenting my best respects to that gentleman. I shall soon embrace an opportunity of bringing myself in writing to his recollection.

I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a pamphlet (a Bengalee Grammar in English) which has lately been published, and beg you will accept of it as a token of the regard and respect I entertain for you. With my fervent wishes for your health and success, I remain,

Dear Sir,
Yours most faithfully,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

CALCUTTA, Feb. 7th, 1827.

Letter to Mrs. Woodford, of Brighton.

24, BEDFORD SQUARE.

April 27th, 1832.

MY DEAR MADAM,—I now have the pleasure of begging your acceptance of the accompanying copy of my remarks on India, and of another copy of a pamphlet on the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive. You will, I am sure, be highly gratified to learn that the present Governor-General of India has sufficient moral

courage to afford them protection against their selfish relations, who cruelly ~~wanted~~ to take advantage of their tender feelings in the name and under the cloak of religion. It must have afforded Mr. Woodhous and ~~himself~~ much gratification to learn, by the first conveyance, the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between liberty and tyranny throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been long gradually, but steadily, gaining ground, notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London, and my visits to you in the country. I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.

RAMMONIX ROY

—
Letter to William Rathbone, Esq.

48, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON,

July 31st, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am now happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the *complete* success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people for a period of upwards of fifty years. The Ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their duty, and provided the people with means of securing their rights. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests, from public proceedings.

As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow-subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

Pray, remember me kindly to Mr. CROPPER and Mr. BENSON, and present my best respects to Mrs. RATHBONE and love to the children ; believe me,

My dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

P. S.—If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology.

R. M. R.

Letter to Mr. Woodford, of Brighton.

JANUARY, 31st 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had on the 27th the pleasure of receiving your obliging communication, and beg to offer you and Mrs. W. my best thanks for this mark of attention towards me. I rejoice to observe that the translation of the *Vedas*, &c., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her *rational* devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any reasonable sentiments, on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year ; besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally unable to carry on communication with foreigners, with any degree of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me.

I shall be most happy to receive your nephew, Mr. KINGLAKE, as I doubt not his company and conversation as your relative, and a firm friend of liberal principles, will be a source of delight to me. I thank you for the mention you made of Sir HENRY STRACHEY. His talents, acquirements and manners, have rendered his name valuable to those who know him and can appreciate his merits. To the best of my belief and recollection, I declare that I do not know a native of Persia or India who could repeat Persian with greater accuracy than this British-born gentleman.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Letter to Mr. Woodford.

48, BRDFORD SQUARE,

August 22nd, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was glad to hear from Mr. CAREY some time ago, that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last; and Sir HENRY STRACHEY, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man; and I feel delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past; I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days, when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust, both in India and England. The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W. with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India, at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

[The following three letters are taken from R. Rickards's "India." The addressees are not known.—Ed.]

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this moment the pleasure of receiving your note of this day. I beg to apologize to you for having kept until this time the volumes which you very kindly lent me. Interruptions prevented me from completing my perusal of them as soon as I wished; I now return them with my sincere thanks, and if perfectly convenient, you will, I hope, oblige me by a loan of the third, and by allowing me again a perusal of the second after a month or two. I think it is incumbent upon every man who detests despotism, and abhors bigotry, to defend the character of our illustrious minister, Mr. Canning, and support his administration if possible. I will, therefore, embrace another opportunity of performing what I consider my duty. In the meantime I remain with sincere regard and esteem,

October 9, 1827—7 p. m.

Pray excuse haste.

Yours most sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me to return the volume containing the evidence on the state of Ireland, which you so very kindly lent me. It is, I presume, impossible for an uninterested person to peruse it as it is, and not come to a determination to second the cause of Catholic Emancipation; I content myself with an appeal to your humanity and good sense. I regret very much that I, who am heartily anxious to co-operate with you in all religious and secular matters, should be compelled to differ so widely from you in this single but important point. As there is, I fear, no chance of any change in our respective opinions on this subject, I hasten to conclude this with my fervent wishes for your health and success in all your views and undertakings in India, and remain

Yours very sincerely,
RAMMOHUN ROY.

November 23, 1827

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been with infinite satisfaction given to understand by Col. Watson, that you opposed the emancipation of your Catholic fellow-subjects merely for the sake of argument, probably to know what the other party could advance in support of it. I was, however, at a loss till yesterday that a person like yourself, so liberal in every other point and so kind even to a humble foreigner such as I am, should be unfriendly towards his own countrymen, and should be indifferent about their political degradation under the *cloak of religion*. I am now relieved from that anxiety, and wishing you with all my heart every success both at home and abroad, I remain,

Yours very sincerely
RAMMOHUN ROY.

December 8, 1827.

[The following letters and extracts from letters are taken from "The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy," by Miss Sophia Dolson Collet.—Ed.]

"Rammohun Roy to Mr. John Digby, England."

"I take this opportunity of giving you a summary account of my proceedings since the period of your departure from India.

"The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use

of rational beings, than any others which have come to my knowledge, and have also found Hindus in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites, and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations on the earth. I, therefore, with a view of making them happy and comfortable both here and hereafter, not only employed verbal arguments against the absurdities of the idolatry practised by them, but also translated their most revered theological work, namely, Vedant, into Bengali and Hindustani and also several chapters of the Ved, in order to convince them that the unity of God, and absurdity of idolatry are evidently pointed out by their own scriptures. I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders, the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; I consequently felt extremely melancholy; in that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England.

"I now, with the greatest pleasure, inform you that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices; many are inclined to seek for the truth; and a great number of those who dissented from me have now coincided with me in opinion. This engagement has prevented me from proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish; but you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time; and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."

[Extract from a letter, dated January 18, 1828.]

I agree with you that in point of vices the Hindus are not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America; but I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise.....It is, I think, necessary that some

LETTERS.

You will perceive from my letter to Miss Kiddell that I am to be detained here a week longer at the sacrifice of my feelings. I, however, cannot help reflecting that to entertain a hope of enjoying the society of friends (though for a short time, say one month) is more pleasant than bringing it to a termination by the completion of it Adieu for the present.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely and obliged,

RAMMOHUN ROY.

[To Miss ANN KIDDELL.]

48, BEDFORD SQUARE.

July 24th, 1833.

DEAR MADAM,—From my anxiety to proceed to Bristol, heavy duties appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time which I felt severely. To-day is the third reading of the Indian Bill in the House of Commons, after long vexatious debates in the committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way to (from?) London I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control.

I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before 10 a. m., that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative. Pray present my kindest regards to Miss Castle, and believe me, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely.

RAMMOHUN ROY

[To Miss KIDDELL.]

48 BEDFORD SQUARE,

August 16th, 1833.

DEAR MADAM,—I have now the pleasure of informing you that I feel relieved, and will proceed to Stapleton Grove on Thursday next. I beg you will excuse this short letter as I am incessantly engaged in making preparations, particularly in writing letters to India and in different parts of this country. Pray, give my love to my son and my kind regards to Miss Castle, and believe me, dear Madam,

Yours very sincerely,

RAMMOHUN ROY

P. S.—Miss Hare presents her compliments to yourself and Miss Castle.

R. R.

APPENDIX.

PETITION TO GOVERNMENT AGAINST REGULATION III OF 1828 FOR THE RESUMPTION OF LAKHERAJ LANDS.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, &c., &c., &c.

The humble petition of the undermentioned inhabitants of Bengal, Behar, and
Orissa, Sheweth :

That, placed as your petitioners are, under the sole protection of British rule, they confidently feel justified when oppressed, in claiming justice and paternal care from that power, and approaching for redress the footstool of your Lordship, the local representative of their sovereign, and the immediate guardian of the safety and security of their lives and property. With this strong impression, your petitioners most humbly appeal to your Lordship in Council against the operation of Regulation III of 1828 recently passed by Government, which appears to your petitioners unprecedented in severity and unparalleled in oppression.

That your petitioners, in the first instance, entreat your Lordship's permission to bring to your notice the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, containing the solemn assurances of justice couched in the following terms: The Governor-General in Council 'has further resolved that the claims of the public on their lands, (provided they, the holders of such lands, as are exempted from the payment of public revenue, register the grants as required in the Regulation) shall be tried in the courts of judicature, that no such exempted lands may be subjected to the payment of revenue until the titles of the proprietor shall have been adjudged invalid by a final judicial decree. Your petitioners trust, after a reference to the language above quoted, your

* This is reprinted from the Asiatic Journal Vol. I, New series, Jan.-April 1830. It is probable that it is, as it is generally known to be, the production of Rammohun Roy. However, it has been inserted in the Appendix, as there is no direct evidence, except what Mr. Adam says in his lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohun Roy.

Lordship will not consider their hopes of legal protection founded upon slight grounds, and their fears excited by the contrary plan laid down in the present Regulations, as mere creations of fancy. The whole of the tenour of the preamble, your petitioners presume, clearly exhibits, that although Marquis Cornwallis, then the Governor-General of India, was as desirous as any of his successors to resume such lands as were alienated in opposition to the ancient and existing laws of the country, yet, from strict regard for the principles of justice, and for the spirit and usages of the British law, his Lordship felt dissuaded from empowering a collector, an agent in behalf of government, to exercise judicial power over the parties whose rights were to be contested by that government.

That your petitioners, in the second place, beg your Lordship's attention to Regulation II of 1819, which, though it varies from Regulation XIX of 1793 in some essential points, yet guarantees to your petitioners that no part of their property can be rendered liable to attachment without the decision of a higher and more adequate authority than a collector of land revenue, or can be subjected to forfeiture without a chance of redress from the established judicial courts and the regular courts of appeal. Your petitioners, however, deeply regret to find themselves suddenly deprived of their long-cherished confidence by the threatening promulgation of Regulation III of 1828, and being on the eve of ruin, they are driven to the necessity of appealing to your Lordship in Council, and humbly, but earnestly, solicit your Lordship's condescending attention to the grounds of their complaint.

That clause 1st, sec. iv. of the Regulation in question, totally overlooking the solemn pledge contained in the preamble of Regulation XIX of 1793, has authorized a collector to institute inquiries in regard to lands free of assessment, without previously obtaining the sanction of the Board of Revenue for such inquiry, as required in section 15 Regulation XIX, and in article first, section v, Regulation II of 1819 and has transferred 'the force and effect' of a judicial decree to any decision that the collector may pass upon such inquiry against the present holder of lands of the above description; that the second and third articles of the same section not only invest a collector with unrestrained power to adjudicate any land in possession of individuals to be the property of government, but give him further absolute authority 'to carry immediately into effect his decree by attaching and assessing the land.

so adjudged, without being required to refer his decision to a higher authority for confirmation, as directed in section xx, Regulation II of 1819. Your Lordship will now perceive that a collector of land-revenue is, by virtue of his office, empowered in the first instance to search out lands subject to the claims of government; he again is authorized to prefer an action before himself as a judge against the party who may be supposed to have been illicitly in possession of them; and lastly, he is rendered competent not only to adjudge the land to be the property of government, but also to dispossess the present proprietor of the same land by a stroke of his pen in 'a Persian roobakarce' held by himself. In short, a collector is under one capacity commissioned to act the part of plaintiff, while under another the same collector is vested with the power of discharging functions of an absolutely judicial nature, in passing a decree in cases in which he in fact stands as plaintiff or informer, and to carry immediately into effect whatever decree he may pass, a system which your petitioners presume the most despotic government might feel reluctant to adopt.

That your petitioners further beg leave to bring to the notice of your Lordship the hardship and difficulty they naturally dread from the operation of the regulation at issue. In sec. xxii, Regulation II of 1819, Government bestowed upon your native subjects the privilege of seeking redress against the decision of the highest revenue authorities (the boards of revenue) from the nearest zillah or city court, in cases in which the amount of demand did not exceed 500 rupees; that the most indigent individuals, or men engaged in husbandry or humble professions, might easily have access to that court without experiencing much inconvenience or incurring heavy expenses; besides, they were permitted in section xxvi, Regulation II of 1819, to appeal to a higher judicial authority for the vindication of their rights, on the supposition that the decision passed by a zillah or city judge was unjust or erroneous. But your petitioners, with the deepest regret, feel compelled to entreat, your Lordship will refer to clause fifth, section iv of the present Regulation, virtually denying your native subjects all means of self-defence. Though the above clause justifies in theory an appeal to a special commissioner against the decision of a collector, yet it has rendered such an appeal in almost two cases out of three, almost absolutely impracticable, since numerous individuals possessing small pieces of land of the above description are so occupied in the pursuit of their livelihood, as to make it practically impossible

for them to leave their respective families and occupations, to proceed to a distant station for the purpose of conducting an appeal before a special commissioner. Moreover, the collectors in general, from their want of experience of judicial duties are not, and cannot, your petitioners presume, be regarded as sufficiently competent to institute judicial investigation; their decisions, consequently, could not bear that weight and respect which are attached to a decree passed by an experienced judicial officer of government; under these circumstances, any investigation that may be held by a special commissioner, when appealed to him against the decision of a collector, would, in point of fact, be the first as well as last judicial trial.

Your petitioners further beg your Lordship's liberal consideration of the long period that has elapsed since the officers of government were commanded to inquire into the validity of the tenures of lakrauj lands. Severe as the provisions of the present regulations are, and widely as they depart from the spirit of that of Lord Cornwallis, it would have been happy for the people, had even such modes of investigation as are there laid down been acted upon with promptitude. Not only, however, has the cautious and just regard for the safety of private property evinced by that just and wise statesman been set aside, but that, too, under circumstances in many instances far more unfavourable for the security of your native subjects than if their rights had been tried at his time.

Sunnuds, and other records, which might then have been produced so as to place your petitioners' titles, beyond dispute, have, from the many accidents to which paper are liable, been lost or destroyed. In cases of disputed and divided succession, and of dispossession by judicial or revenue sales, your Lordship will readily understand how often the possessions of the titles must have been withheld from the actual owner of land, however rightful his succession to the property. Fire inundation, and the ravages of destructive insects or vermin, have, in the course of thirty-five years, necessarily caused many important documents to perish, and it is after the lapse of such a period, that they are now called to make good, before a new species of tribunal, rights which have so long remained undisturbed.

Your petitioners confidently affirm, that on reference to the revenue and judicial records of the illahs and cities it will be found

that there are innumerable instances in which lands free of assessment have been, since 1793, transferred to different hands by sale at the public auctions, superintended either by revenue or by judicial officers, for the recovery of arrears of revenue due to government, or for the satisfaction of judicial decrees. These have been purchased by individuals of course on the public faith, and hitherto possessed by them without molestation. Now your Lordship in Council may be pleased to judge whether it would be in any way consistent with justice, that such lands should again be resumed from these purchasers, on the grounds of their titles being invalid, and assumed by government, whose public officers once previously obtained their value in satisfaction of the demand of Government upon their prior possessors.

That your petitioners, without fear of contradiction, can plead their past and present conduct as a proof of their unshaken and continued loyalty and attachment to the British rule in India. They have carefully entertained the hope of daily amelioration in their condition, from the augmenting and established power and possessions acquired by the wisdom of their rulers; but they feel painfully disappointed in that expectation when on comparing with each other, the language used and the spirit manifested on the one and the same subject, in Regulations XIX of 1793 II of 1819, and III of 1828. Your petitioners perceive, with inexpressible grief, a gradual indifference exhibited toward their rights and interests. As loyal subjects, however, they are in duty bound to lay candidly before your Lordship their grievances, and since rely pray that your Lordship in Council, for the honour of the British name, and from a sense of justice, may be pleased to rescind the Regulation complained of, and thereby save thousands of families of your dutiful subjects from utter ruin.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

A PRESENT

TO THE BELIEVERS IN ONE GOD:

BEING A TRANSLATION OF

TUHFATUL MUWAHHIDDIN

BY

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY.

INTRODUCTION.*

I TRAVELED in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands, and found the inhabitants thereof agreeing generally in believing in the personality of One Being Who is the source of all that exists and its governor, and disagreeing in giving peculiar attributes to that Being and in holding different creeds consisting of the doctrines of religion and precepts of *haram* (forbidden) and *halal* (lawful). From this Induction it has been known to me that turning generally towards One Eternal Being, is like a natural tendency in human beings and is common to all individuals of mankind equally. And the inclination of each sect of mankind to a particular God or Gods, holding certain especial attributes, and to some peculiar forms of worship or devotion, is an exercent quality grown (in mankind) by habit and training. What a vast difference is there between nature and habit ! Some of these sectarians are ready to confute the creeds of others owing to a disagreement with them, claiming the truth of the sayings of their predecessors ; while those predecessors also like other men were liable to commit sins and mistakes. Hence it may not be improper if it be said that all of them are either right or wrong. In the former case, two contradictrories come together *اجتِماعُ الْقَوْضَيْنِ* (which is logically inadmissible). In the latter case, it may not be improper if it be said that either falsehood is to be attributed to some religions particularly or commonly to all ; in the first case *tarjih bila murajjeh* *جَهَلُ مُرْجَحٍ* i. e., giving preference without there being any reason for it (which is logically inadmissible), follows. Hence falsehood is common to all religions without distinction. I have explained this (my opinion) in Persian, as it is more intelligible to the people of Ajam (i. e. Non-Arabians).

* For a masterly and elaborate exposition of the views expressed in this pamphlet, see the author's *Biography* by Babu Nagendramath Chatterji, Third Ed. 1899, pp. 132-166. Ed.

A PRESENT TO THE BELIEVERS IN ONE GOD.

HAPPY is the time of those who endeavour to discriminate the conditions which are found in persons as the effect of habit and constant intercourse [with men], and differentiate the qualities which are the consequences of the nature of the species and the temperaments of individuals, and inquire into the truth and falsehood of the different principles of the various religions without favouring any, nay, to the best of their power, examine the already proved (or axiomatic) principles of the people, without favouring (or unbiassed by) the views [generally] expressed. As the finding out of the truth of things of different utility and the knowledge of the degrees of the works producing hidden results, which is the greatest factor [in the nature] of the perfect man and which is in its nature immensely veiled and very difficult [to understand]; so most of the leaders of different creeds, for perpetuating their names and enhancing their reputation, have declared some special beliefs in the form of pure truths resting on miracles or on the power of the tongue and devices suited to the condition of the congregation, and have in a way so attracted the majority of the people towards them, that these helpless [persons], bound in obedience and servitude, having wholly lost the eye and heart of perception, consider it sinful to distinguish between actual goodness and apparent sin in the execution of the orders of their leader; and in consideration of their faith and for the sake of their sect, consider the killing and torturing of others as a highly meritorious act, notwithstanding that they are one in essence, the branches of one tree. They consider their pure faith in the leader, notwithstanding their commission of the basest acts, e. g., lying, misappropriation, robbery, adultery, &c., which are sins in the next world (*i. e.* spiritual offences) and harmful to the public [in this world], as a means of their liberation from their sins. And they spend their most invaluable time in reading stories and accounts which are difficult to believe in, which strengthen their faith in the ancient and modern leaders of their faith. If by chance any serious-minded person among them shows an inclination to inquire into the truth of his faith, it is customary among the followers of that faith to attribute this inclination to the promptings of Satan and as destructive of worldly and religious prospects. and he immediately turns from it. In fact,

every one, by constant hearing of the wonderful accounts (which are impossible of occurrence) of his forefathers and the praises of the good results of the acceptance of the faith of that community in which he is born and brought up, from the lips of his relatives and neighbours at a time before maturity when his faculties possessed greater susceptibility of receiving impressions of ideas, acquires such a firm belief in the truth of the principles of his creed, that notwithstanding the falsity of most of the principles of his adopted faith, he gives them preference to those of all other faiths and shows every day fresh love of and belief in that faith. Therefore it is evident that after accepting a particular creed with such firmness and strength, the serious reason of any one coupled with knowledge acquired even during the time of majority, cannot be sufficient for finding out the true nature of a faith which for so many years has been believed in without enquiry into its truth or falsehood.

Rather, that very man in the hope of attaining the honour of being a *mujtahid* or religious expounder, girds up his loins to invent traditional and rational arguments in order to give strength to the doctrines of his faith. The *mugallids* [or common people following that religion by blind imitation] who are always anxious at heart to give preference to their faith to other religions according to the proverb that "A 'Hoo' is sufficient for (exciting) a mad fellow," making those invented and gilded arguments the grounds of their dissensions pride in their own faith, and decry the faith of others. If by chance through want of prudence a single person utters a word or a question against the articles of his faith, his co-religionists in case of having power, make over that inexperienced fellow to the tongue (point) of the spear (*i. e.* kill him), and in case of their having no such opportunity make him over to the spear of the tongue (*i. e.* overload him with reproaches and slanders). The influence of these leaders over their followers and the extent of their submission to them have reached such a degree that some people having a firm belief in the sayings of their leaders, think some stones and vegetables or animals to be the real objects of their worship; and in opposing those who may attempt to destroy those objects of their worship or to insult them, they think shedding the blood of others or sacrificing their own lives, an object of pride in this world, and a cause of salvation in the next. It is more strange that the *mujtahids* or religious expounders of them also after the examples of their leaders of other religions, putting aside justice and honesty, try to invent passages in the form of reasonable arguments in support of these articles of faith, which are evidently nonsensical and absurd, and thereby try to give strength to the faith of the common people, who are deprived of insight and discretion.

"We seek the protection of God from the temptations of our lower selves, and from the guilt of our deeds."*

Although it cannot be denied that the social instinct in man demands that every individual of this species should have permanent regulations for the [different] stages of life and for living together, but social laws depend on an understanding of each other's meaning (or ideas) and on certain rules which separate the property of one from that of another, and provide for the removal of the pain which one gives to another. Making these the basis, the inhabitants of all the countries, distant islands and lofty mountains, have according to their progress and intellectuality, formed words indicative of the meaning and origin of faiths on which at present stand the governments of the world. As the foundation of faiths is based on the truth of the existence of the soul (which is defined as an essence regulating the body) and on the existence of the next world, which is held to be the place of receiving rewards and punishments for the good and evil deeds done in this world after the separation of the soul from the body; they (mankind) are to be excused in admitting and teaching the doctrine of the existence of the soul and the next world (although the real nature of both is hidden) for the sake of the welfare of the people (society), as they simply, for the fear of punishment in the next world and of the penalties inflicted by the earthly authorities, refrain from the commission of illegal deeds. But as an appendage to the belief in these two indispensable doctrines, hundreds of useless hardships and privations regarding eating and drinking, purity and impurity, auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, &c., have been added, and thus they have become causes of injury and detriment to social life and sources of trouble and bewilderment to the people, instead of tending to the amelioration of the condition of society.

O God! Notwithstanding implicit faith in the orders of the mujahids or the doctors of religion, there is always such an innate faculty existing in the nature of mankind that in case any person of sound mind, before or after assuming the doctrines of any religion, makes an impartial and just enquiry into the nature of the principles of religious doctrines, of different nations, there is a strong hope that he will be able to distinguish the truth from untruth and true propositions from fallacious ones, and also he, becoming free from the useless restraints of religion, which sometimes become sources of prejudice of one against another and causes of physical and mental troubles, will turn to the One Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organization of the universe, and will pay attention to the good of society. "Whom God leads (to the righteous path) there is none to mislead him and whom he misleads there is no leader for him."†

*A quotation from the Koran.

† A quotation from the Koran.

It is to be seen that every religion claims that the true Creator has created mankind for discharging the duties connected with the welfare of the present and future life by observing the tenets of that particular religion ; and that the followers of other religions who differ from them in articles of faith, are liable to punishment and torments in the future life. And as each particular class expects the good results of its own acts and of the bad results of those of the followers of other religions in the life after death, therefore one cannot refute the dogmas of the other at present, but only sows the seeds of prejudice and disunion in their heart, instead of purity and frankness, and considers the other deprived of the benefits of the next world : whereas it is quite evident that all of them are living here equally enjoying the blessings of nature (*lit. heaven*), as the light of the stars, the pleasure of the season of spring, the fall of rain, health of body, easy circumstances, beauty of body and mind, &c., as well as suffer from the same inconveniences and pain, darkness and severity of cold and mental disease and narrowness of circumstances and deformity of body and mind, without any distinction in being the follower of a particular religion.

Although each individual without the instruction or guidance of any one, simply by keen insight into, and deep observation of, the mysteries of nature such as different modes of life fixed for different kinds of animals and vegetables and propagation of their species and the rules of the movements of the planets and stars and endowment of innate affection in animals towards their offspring without expecting any return, and without knowing the conditions which favour the growth and decay of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, has an innate faculty in him by which he can infer that there exists a Being Who (with His wisdom) governs the whole universe ; yet it is clear that every one in imitation of the nation in which he has been brought up, believes the tenets of that creed in their entirety. For instance, some of them believe in a just God possessing human attributes such as anger, mercy, hatred and love ; and others believe in a Being comprehending and extending all over nature ; a few are inclined to atheism (or thinking *ज्ञान दाता* or nature as the creative principle of the Universe), and some of them give Divine attributes to large created beings and make them objects of worship. These persons do not make any distinction between the beliefs which are the results of a special training and habit and an absolute belief in the existence of the Source of Creation, which is indispensable for man, and not being accustomed to the enquiry into the reality of the sequence of cause and effect, believe in bathing in a river and seeing a tree or a stone and in penance

and purchasing forgiveness of their crime from the high priests, &c., according to the peculiarities of different religions) to be the cause of salvation and purification from the sins of a whole life. And they think that this purification is the effect of those objects of their beliefs and the sanctity of their priests without the instrumentality of their own opinion and faith, while these do not produce any effect on those who do not agree with them in those beliefs. Had there been any real effect of these imaginary things, it must have been common to all nations of different persuasions and should not have been confined to one particular nation's belief and habits. For although the degree of the strength of the effect varies according to the different capacities of persons subject to it, yet it is not dependent upon the belief of a certain believer. Do you not see that if a poison be taken by any one, in the belief that it is a sweet-meat, it must produce its effects on the eater and kill him? "O God, give me true power for making distinction between habit and nature."

The centres of the circles of faiths (or the originators of different Qutis) have given an interpretation of a miracle attributing (or assuming) it to themselves as a passport [to the confidence of the people in them] and for increasing the faith of the common people.

It is customary with common people overpowered by [prevailing] opinion that when they see any act or thing done or found, beyond their power of comprehension, or of which they cannot find out any obvious cause, they ascribe it to supernatural power or miracle. The secret lies in this, that in this world the existence of each rests on apparent causes and different conditions and modes of justice, so that if we take fully into consideration the near and remote causes for and against a thing, we may say that in the existence of that thing, the whole universe is concerned.* But when for want of experience and owing to narrowness [of views] the cause of a thing remains hidden to any one, another person having found it a good opportunity for achieving his object ascribes it to his own supernatural power and thereby attracts people to himself. In the present age in India, belief in supernatural and miraculous things has grown to such a degree that the people, when they find any wonderful

* With the idea expressed here may be compared the following lines from Tennyson :—

" Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."—E.d.

things, the origin of which they can ascribe to their by-gone heroes or the present saints, immediately ascribe it them, and although there be an obvious existence of its cause, they ignore it. But it is not hidden from those who have a sound mind and are friends of justice, that there are many things, for instance, many wonderful inventions of the people of Europe and the dexterity of jugglers, the causes of which are not obviously known and seem to be beyond the comprehension of human power, but after a keen insight acquired by the instructions of others, these causes can be known satisfactorily. This finding only may be a sufficient safeguard for intelligent people, against being deceived by believers in supernatural works. The utmost which we can say on this matter is that in some instances, notwithstanding a keen and penetrative investigation the cause of some wonderful things remains unknown to some people. In such cases, we ought to have recourse to our own sound reason and ask ourselves whether it is compatible with reason to be convinced of our own inability to understand the cause or to attribute it to some impossible agency inconsistent with the laws of nature? I think our sound reason will prefer the first. Moreover what necessity is there, that we should find out the true cause of these things which are impossible and unreasonable; for instance, raising the dead, ascending to heaven, &c., which are said to have occurred many hundreds of years ago?

Although people in worldly transactions, without knowing a certain connection of one thing with another, do not believe that the one is the cause and the other the effect, yet when there is the influence of religion and faith, they do not hesitate to call the one the cause and the other the effect, notwithstanding there is no connection or sequence between the two. For instance, the removal of a calamity or recovery from disease by the effect of prayer without any connection between the two and without exertion or resistance. When enquiries are made about the mysteries of these things which are so wonderful that reason hesitates to believe in their truth, the leaders of religion, sometimes explain for the satisfaction of their followers, that in the affairs of religion and faith, reason and its arguments have nothing to do: and that the affairs of religion depend upon faith and Divine Help. How could a matter which has no proof and which is inconsistent with reason be received and admitted by men of reason?—"Take admonition from this, O ye who have got eyes!"*. They sometimes having a profound knowledge (of logic) begin to argue that it is not impossible for the power of that Omnipotent Creator who has brought the whole Universe into exis-

tence from perfect nonentity that He should unite life with the bodies of the dead a second time or should give to earthly bodies the property of light or the power of air to travel distances. But this argument does not prove anything but the probability of the occurrence of such things, while they have to prove the real occurrence of miracles of their ancient religious leaders and the modern mujtahids: so it is clear to men of understanding that the inference does not follow (i.e. there is no *taqrib** in this argument.)

Besides, if this proposition were accepted, the doors of *gīr manā* or questioning the truth of a premise in a syllogism, during *shāhāra* or discussion would be closed, and the possibility of rejecting a tradition would be nil. Because any one in attempting to prove impossible things might have recourse to such arguments during discussion; and thus there would be no difference between the meaning of *مُمْكِن* possible and *مُمْكِنٌ* impossible; consequently the whole foundation of syllogistic and logical demonstration would fall to the ground. Whereas it is admitted by the wise that the Creator has no power to create impossible things; such as co-partnership (with God) or the annihilation of God or *جَمْعُ النَّقِيبَيْنِ* the compatibility of contradictories, &c.

"The disputes of seventy-two sects† are to be excused, because they not finding the truth, have trotted the way of fables or nonsense." (Hafiz).

Whereas on account of distance of time the great supernormal powers of the by-gone leaders of different religions, are impossible to be proved by a knowledge gathered by external senses, (which, under certain conditions I impart a positive knowledge); therefore the doctors of different persuasions, relying on the faith of their followers have made the idea of *ṣāḥīḥ tawatur* (traditions proved by a series of general reports) a means of proving such things: while with a little consideration of the true idea of a *ṣāḥīḥ tawatur* which produces positive belief and a *tawatur* assumed by the followers of religions, the veil of fallacy can be removed. Because according to the followers of religions *tawatur* is a report coming down from a certain class of people who cannot be suspected of falsehood. But whether such a class of people existed in ancient times, is not known to the people of the present time through the medium of external senses or experience; rather it is quite obscure and doubtful. Be-

**Taqrib* means in Logic the agreement of the conclusion with the question or the proposition to be proved.

†There are seventy-two sects among the Mahomedans.

sides, great discrepancies in the traditions of by-gone leaders of each religion, indicate the falsehood of their assertion. If it is said that the truth of the statement of the first class of people who gave the report of the miracles of their leaders, by eye-witness, is to be proved by the statement of the next class who were their contemporaries, and so for proving the truth of the statement of the next or second class, the evidence of the third class (who were their contemporaries) must be added; because belief in the truth of the statement of the second class also wants a proof, and likewise for the truth of the statement of the third class, the evidence of the fourth class ought to be added and so on, till it would reach the people who live in the present time, and so this link or series of evidence will come down gradually to posterity and continue in future: it is clear that men of sound mind will hesitate to reckon that class of people who co-exist with them, to be a truthful people to whom falsehood cannot be imputed especially in matters of religion. Besides a great contradiction is found in the affirmation and negation of prophecy and other good attributes of the leaders of different religions and these contradictory reports are proved also by *tawatur*. Therefore in taking for granted the truth of the reports of each party, there would be احتماع تقيفين (i.e., admitting two contradictories). And giving preference to one report above another without any ground of preference is مرجع بـ مـعـدـيـم (i.e., giving one thing preference to another without any reasonable ground). Because each party has an equally good claim to the greatness and veracity of their ancestors. The fact is that a *tawatur* in the sense of receiving a report admissible to reason from a people whose statement is not contradicted by any one, is useful in giving positive belief. But this sort of *tawatur* is quite different from the discrepant reports contrary to reason. From this assertion the following arguments (produced by doctors of religion) are easily refuted. They say, *firstly*, how are those persons who believe the narratives regarding the ancient kings owing to their being inserted in history and received by *tawatur* or tradition, to be justified in rejecting the facts relating to the supernatural works performed by the leaders of religions, which are mentioned in ancient books and are proved by *tawatur* or traditions of nations, from time to time? And, *secondly*, how can those who in spite of the difference in complexion and manners of the offspring of a person from him, and in spite of the real fact being hidden to them, believe in particular descent or birth only by general report or *tawatur*, hesitate to believe in the holiness and the miracles of the ancient *mujahids*, which are also received in the way of *tawatur*? Inasmuch as the narrative regarding the

by-gone kings, for instance, the ascending of a certain king to the throne and fighting with certain enemies, &c., are such facts as were then reliable and unanimously agreed upon; while narratives of those supernatural works are contradicted and are most wonderful. For instance, the birth of individuals of the species of animals from their parents is a visible thing, but birth of children without parents, is quite contrary to reason. "See what a vast difference there is between the one way and the other."

Besides, the fact of descent or genealogy and the narratives of the by-gone kings are suppositions ^{كذب} and the beliefs regarding the articles of faith of a certain religion, according to the principles of religion, are certain or positive propositions; so the one cannot bear analogy to the other with this material difference. Notwithstanding this, whenever any suspicion of contradictory statements arises in the history of any by-gone kings in the matter of descent or genealogy, the reports about them are set aside or thrown out of the circle of reliance. For instance, the report about Alexander the Great's conquering China and the account about his birth are contradicted by the historians of Greece and Persia; therefore they are not accepted by historians as proved.*

Some people argue in this way that the Almighty Creator has opened the way of guidance to mortal beings through the medium of prophets or leaders of religions. This is evidently futile, because the same people believe that all things in creation, whether good or bad, proceed from the Great Creator without any intermediate agency, and that the apparent causes are the means and conditions of that (i. e. their coming into existence). Hence it is to be seen whether the sending of prophets and revelation to them from God, are immediately from God or through intermediate agency. In the first case, there is no necessity of an intermediate agency for guidance to salvation, and there does not seem any necessity of the instrumentality of prophets or revelation. And in the second case, there should be a series of intermediate agencies. Hence the advent of prophets and revelation like other external things have no reference to God, but depend upon the invention of an inventor. Prophets and others should not be particularly connected (or mixed up) with the teaching

It was in 1810-12 that Niebuhr, the father of historical criticism, gave "a course of lectures on Roman history, which by making known the results of the new and critical theory that he had applied to the elucidation of obscure historical evidence, established his position as one of the most original and philosophical of modern historians." Sir George Cornewall Lewis and Dr. Arnold wrote much later. Rammohun wrote this pamphlet in 1803 or 1804. The way in which he writes here on the subject of historical evidence only illustrates his originality and versatile genius.—En

of a faith. Besides, what one nation calls a guide to a true faith, another calls a misleading to an erroneous way.

Some of them argue in this way that discrepancy in precepts of different religions does not prove falsehood of any religion. The discrepancies ought to be understood to be of the same nature as is found in the laws of the ancient and modern rulers of the world; that the modern rulers often repeal the laws, framed by the former ones, according to the needs of the time. And notwithstanding the repealment of one and enforcement of the other, all the people consider the laws as true and proceeding from authority. So all these forms of religions, also were framed by God, according to different states of society in different times, and the one has been repealed or superseded by another according to His will. My reply to this argument is that the ruling or government of the true God, who according to the belief of the followers of religions is acquainted with the particular state of every particle and who is Omniscient and to whom the past, present and future times are equally known and under whose influence the hearts of mankind can be turned to whatever He wishes, and Who is the provider of the visible and invisible causes of every thing and Who is far from having any particular object for His own interest and Who is free from whims; has no analogy with the government of man whose wisdom is defective and incapable of understanding the end of every action and who is liable to errors or mistakes and whose actions are mixed with selfishness, deceit and hypocrisy. Is not this sort of analogy قيام مع المقارن—an analogy between two things which differ in essential qualities? Besides this, there are many other strong objections in holding the above opinion; for instance, the Brahmins have a tradition from God that they have strict orders from God to observe their ceremonies and hold their faith for ever. There are many injunctions about this from the Divine Authority in the Sanskrit language, and I, the humblest creature of God, having been born amongst them, have learnt the language and got those injunctions by heart, and this nation (the Brahmins) having confidence in such divine injunctions cannot give them up although they have been subjected to many troubles and persecutions and were threatened to be put to death by the followers of Islam. The followers of Islam, on the other hand, according to the purport of the holy verses of the Koran حميمون، قاتلوا الشراكين (i. e., kill the idolators wherever you find them) and اما فدار فشد، الوناق قاما معاً بعد (i. e., then tie the bonds, i. e., capture the unbelievers in the holy war, then either set them free by way of obliging them or by taking ransom), quote authority from God that killing idolators and persecuting them in every case, are

obligatory by Divine command. Among those idolators, the Brahmins according to the Moslem belief, are the grossest idolators. Therefore the followers of Islam, always being excited by religious zeal and having in the past and the present been desirous of carrying out the orders of God, have not failed to do their utmost to kill and persecute the polytheists and unbelievers in the prophetic missions of the last of Prophets * (may Divine Benediction rest on him and on his disciples). Now, are these contradictory precepts or orders consistent with the wisdom and mercy of the great, generous and disinterested Creator or are these the fabrications of the followers of religion ? I think a sound mind will not hesitate to prefer the latter alternative. Then, it is to be considered, which of these two is proper, i. e., either to attribute these injunctions and precepts to God or to reject these contradictory traditions at once. For instance, one party on the authority of their scripture, say that prophetic mission has been closed with their leader, and another party claim that the prophetic mission is to end in the generation of David according to an authority from God. And these two sayings are in fact *ယୁଗ* (reports or foretellings and not *ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ*) or precepts of law that they will be subject to repeal. Because in holding one to be true the falsehood of the other must follow, while the probability of *ବ୍ୟାପାର* (change) or perversion is equally applicable to both. It is strange to say, that after the lapse of hundreds of years from the time of these religious leaders, with whom the prophetic mission is said to be closed, Nanak and others in India and other countries raised the flag of prophetic mission and induced a large number of people to become their followers and were successful. In the body of religious teachings the gates of gaining [selfish] objects will remain open for the superstitious and inexperienced from eternity to eternity, and it is daily observed that hundreds of persons in the hope of gaining some honor or a little profit make themselves subject to various kinds of physical privation and hardship, such as the keeping of perpetual fasting and holding one of the hands motionless and burning the body, &c. Hence it is not strange that (in by-gone days) some ambitious persons in order to obtain the honour of becoming leaders of people at large or making themselves objects of reverence of the people should have subjected themselves to the hardships and dangers of the time.

There is a saying which is often heard from the doctors of different religions, which they quote as an authority for giving strength to their creed. Each of them says that his religion which gives information about future reward or punishment after death, is either

true or false. In the second case, i. e., if it be false and there be no future reward or punishment, there is no harm in believing it to be true ; while in the first case, i. e., its being true, there is a great danger for the unbelievers. The poor people, who follow these expounders of religions, holding this saying of their leaders to be conclusive argument, are always boasting of it. The fact is that habit and training make the individuals blind and deaf notwithstanding their having eyes and ears. The above fallacy becomes clear in two ways. *Firstly*, their saying that in the second case there is no harm in acceptance, is inadmissible. Because faith in the truth of a thing is gained by each individual man after belief in its existence, and faith in the existence of such things as are remote from reason, and repugnant to experience, is not in the power of a sensible man. *Secondly*, in case of having faith in those things, it may become the source of various mischiefs and troubles and immoral practices owing to gross ignorance and want of experience, i. e., bigotry, deceit, &c. Nevertheless, in case of assuming this argument to be true, from this the truth of all forms of religion is to be proved ; for the followers of each religion may equally produce the same argument. Hence there will be a great perplexity for a man to believe all religions to be true or adopt the one or reject others. Therefore as the first alternative is impossible, consequently the second must be considered. And in this case, he has again recourse to the enquiry into the truth and falsehood of various religions. And this is the chief object of my discourse. Another argument produced by them is that it is necessary that we should follow the ceremonies and creeds which were adopted by our forefathers, without any enquiry into their truth and falsehood, and to hate and neglect them or deviate from them, leads to worldly and religious disgrace : and that such conduct is in fact contempt and insult of our forefathers. This fallacious argument of theirs, produces a great effect on the minds of the people who entertain a good opinion and a reverence towards their ancestors, and consequently hinders them from any enquiry into the truth and adopting the righteous way. The fallacy of this argument will be evident to all on a little consideration. For it is equally applicable first, to those persons who having been founders of some (new) religion attracted the people to themselves ; and secondly, to those who after receiving the doctrines of their leaders, have deviated from the old way of their forefathers, and tried to pull down the foundation of their ancestor's creeds. If a man only by attributing his own inventions to God, is to be vindicated from such charges, then this is the easiest way to be adopted. The fact is that renouncing one religion and adopting another which was common amongst the ancient people, implies that conversion from one religion

to another, is one of the habits of mankind. Besides, the fact of God's endowing each individual man with intellectual faculties and senses, implies that he should not, like other animals, follow the examples of his fellows, but should exercise his own intellectual power with the help of acquired knowledge, to discern good from bad, so that this valuable divine gift should not be left useless. The followers of different religions sometimes seeing the paucity of the number of believers in one God in the world boast that they are on the side of the majority. It is to be seen that the truth of a saying does not depend upon the multiplicity of the sayers and the non-reliability of a narration cannot arise simply out of the paucity of the number of the narrators. For it is admitted by the seekers of truth that truth is to be followed, although it is against the majority of the people. Moreover, accepting the proposition, viz., the paucity of the number of the sayers leads to the invalidity of a saying, as universal, proves to be a dangerous blow to all the forms of religion. Because in the beginning of every religion there were very few supporters of it, viz., its founder and a very few sincere followers of him, who had the same object with him, and afterwards on their precepts thousands of large books and series of arguments have been written and produced like a mountain resting upon a straw, while belief only in one Almighty God is the fundamental principle of every religion. Those who prefer the so-called invented revelation of mankind to the natural inspiration from God, which consists in attending to social life with their own species, and having an intuitive faculty of discriminating good from evil, instead of gaining the union of hearts with mutual love and affection of all their fellow-creatures without difference in shape and colour or creeds and religions, which is a pure devotion acceptable to God, the Creator of nature, consider some especial formulæ and bodily motions to be the cause of Salvation and receiving bounty from Almighty God. They in fact, pretend a change in the self of the Deity and think that their physical actions and mental emotions, have power to change the state of the unchangeable God. Our actions can by no means be the cause of appeasing the wrath of God and attaining His forgiveness and favour. A little consideration will expose this heresy.

"So many hypocritical acts of the Shaikh, the Spiritual Leader, are not worth a mite; give comfort to the hearts of people, this is the only Divine Doctrine."

In short, the individuals of mankind with reference to those who are deceivers and those who are deceived and those who are neither, are of four kinds.

Firstly.—A class of deceivers who in order to attract the people to themselves wilfully invent doctrines, creeds and faiths and put the people to troubles and cause disunion amongst them.

2ndly.—A class of deceived people, who without inquiring into the fact, adhere to others.

3rdly.—A class of people who are deceivers and also deceived, they are those who having themselves faith in the sayings of another induce others to adhere to them.

4thly.—Those who by the help of Almighty God are neither deceivers nor deceived.

“Be not after the injury of any being and do whatever you please For in our way there is no sin except it (injuring others).” (Hafiz).

These few sentences, short and useful according to the opinion of this humble believer in God, have been written without any regard to men of prejudice and bigotry, with the hope that people of sound mind will look at them with a just and corrective eye. I have left the detail of it to another work of mine entitled *Manazirul Adyan*,* “Discussion of Various Religions.”

Here ends “A present to the believers in one God.”

* *Manazir* is a work in the form of a dialogue in which two or more persons are introduced to discuss a given subject.

INDEX

ABWABS. See *Bent, Ryer*

ADAM, REV. MR.—
his efforts in the cause of unitarian religion, 880.
persecuted by the missionaries, 880.

ADULTERY. See *Commandment*.

ALLEGORY—(See *Hinduism, Rites*) in the *Vedas*, 100.

in *Sankaracharya's Bhashya*, 100.

ALEXANDRIANS—(See *Arians*.)
strife between Arians and, 610.

ANCESTOR—
Worship of, leads to darkness, 70.

ANCESTRAL PROPERTY—
controversy against father's power over, 417 to 434.

decision against the power of Hindus over, 394.

factum valot in case of alienation of, 407, 408.

power of the father maintained by *Dayabhaga*, 401 to 407.

rights of Hindus over, 389 to 413.

restrictions against alienation against the public good, 394, 395, 413.

that which is immoral is not invalid, 408 to 410

rules of succession conventional, 394, 395.

ANGHRA—(See *Burning of Widows*.)
Suicide by widows, 106.

APPEAL—

courts of, 252.

delays in, 255.

number of cases how reduced, 258.

privy council, 258.

against the *Perms* Regulation to the king, 445 to 467.

ARABIC BIBLE

translation of *Zech. XII. 10*, 861.

ARIANS—(See *Alexandrians*.)
cause of their defeat, 610, 611.

ARIUS—

his doctrines condemned, 620.

ARREARS—(See *Bent, Ryer*.)

ASIATIC—

not a term of abuse, 906.

ASSESSOR

mode of the appointment of, 240, 247.

difference of opinion between

and Judge, procedure in, 260.

native whether competent, 260.

power of, 260.

Salary of, 216, 219.

ATONEMENT (See *Sin, Salvation*)

Redemption, Jesus.)

the doctrine inconsistent with the mercy of God, 704.

the idea iniquitous, 604, 703, 7 to 715.

Justice, human and divine, 105.

INTERCESSION

prophets and angels also made for men, 608.

sin forgiven freely according the scriptures, 723.

Jesus

death of on the cross not 1 Mission of, 601, 602.

doctrine not taught by, 722.

cause of the afflictions of, 602, 6 his aversion to death, 196, 6

712.

did he suffer as God or man, 6 604.

REDEMPTION

what is meant by, 723, 724.

angels also called redemptors, 6

ATONEMENT—*Contd.*

LAMB—the term explained, 708.
application of the term, “lamb of God,” no proof of atonement, 607, 608.

SACRIFICE—

Abel’s—considered, 699, 700.
Noah’s—considered, 706.
how far it is a divine institution, 700.

interpretation of passages showing Jesus’s sacrificing himself for sins, 701 to 703.

means spiritual sacrifice in the dispensation of Christ, 706.

priesthood without sacrifice exists under the Christian dispensation, 706.

terms *atonement* and *sacrifice* being familiar with the Jews, adopted by the apostles, 705.

scapegoat no sign of Christ, 709.
blood of Christ, atonement by, unscriptural, 701.

taking away of sins can have no connection with blood or bloody sacrifice, 725, 726.

Saviour

the application of the term to Jesus a supposed proof of atonement, considered, 605, 716.

TEXTS

In support of examined, 601 to 602, 721 to 723; Gen. III. 15, considered, 697, 698.
Job XIX. 21 to 26 examined, 707, 708.

Isaiah XLII. examined, 717.

John X. 17 examined, 711.

Heb. X. 5, 6 examined, 704.

passages from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Haggai, Zecharia and Malachi, in support of noticed, 718 to 722.
if righteousness came by the Law, examined, &c., 570, 695.

God’s promise to Abraham considered, 707.

BAPTISM—

the association of Jesus’s name with that of God in the rite considered, 597, 859.

the association of the name of Holy Ghost with that of God considered, 616, 659.

BAPTIST MISSION. See Mission.

BAR. See Pleader.

BEATITUDE—(See Salvation.)
relinquishment of the notion of self leads to, 39.

BENEVOLENCE—

the only homage to God, 198.

BENTINCK, LORD WILLIAM—
address to on the abolition of the Suttee, 475 to 477.

BHAGAVADGITA—(See Gayatri. Rites.)

BOARD OF CONTROL, 235.

BRAHMA

creation of, 111.
definition of, 76.
worship of leads to darkness, 76.

BRAHMO SOMAJ—

trust-deed of, 213 to 221.
mode of worship enjoined in, 216.
religion of, 216.

BRAHMUNICAL MAGAZINE—
143 to 198.

BRIBERY. See Court.

BRITISH RULE
praised, 300, 871.

BROWN, MR

explanation of Ephes. IV. 8, 741.
interpretation of Jerem. XXIII. 6, 653.

BUCKINGHAM, J. MR.—
letter to, 923.

BURNING OF WIDOWS

(See Rites, Women.)
authorized by Angira, Vishnu, Raghunandana, 356, 857.
the mode enjoined by Harita not observed, 371, 372.

BURNING OF WIDOWS *Contd.*
 practice inhuman, 331, 332.
 entering the pile in indispensable, 356 to 359.
 tying down of widows, 120, 329, 353, 357, 359.
Raghunandana on, 338 to 342.
Manu deprecates, 325.
Mitakshara on, 338.
Shastras do not imperatively enjoin, 366.
 custom, cannot be defended on the ground of, 354, 355.
 not excellent as proceeding from desire of pleasure, 327 to 330, 369, 370.
 good only for those who do not desire final beatitude, 338.
 ascetic life of widows preferred, 350, 351.
 petition against to Parliament 479, 480.

TEXTS regarding —
Angira, 323.
Brahma Purana, 324.
Gotama, 324.
Skanda Purana, 342.
Vyasa, 324.
Rig Veda, text of, in favour of — discussed, 327.
 its genuineness questioned, 368.

CONCREMATION —
 ceremony described, 371.
 what it is in practice, 356.
sankalpa of, 327.
 praised only because it leads to rewards, 327.
 texts in favour of, 323 to 324.

POSTCREMATION —
 text for, 324.

CANNING — *Mr.*, 927.

CAPITAL —
 want of, among ryots, 281, 282.

CASTE, evils of, 920.

CASTLE, Miss, letter to, 931.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, 928.

CHARITY — enjoined, 500, 520, 521, 537, 542.

CHRIST — (See *Jesus*.)
 the mercy of God, 100.

CHRISTIANS —
 should not be hated, 212.
 pay greater attention to dogmas than to Christ's teaching, 919.
 early Christians, discord among, 610 to 612.

CHRISTIANITY (see *Missions*.)
 early Christianity, what it was, 610, 627 to 629.
 corrupted by the polytheistical notions of pagans, 600
 prevailing polytheistical belief the cause of the success of the Trinitarians over Arians, 610.
 true tree from polytheism, 675.
 essential characteristic of, 483.
 incarnation of Christ ridiculed, 890 to 908.
 Rammohun Roy's view of, 920.
 various opinions about, 483, 484.
 discord between Roman Catholics and Protestants, 611.
 dogmas, cause of strife and bloodshed, 609 to 611.
 dogmas not essential to religion, 612.
 preaching of dogmas no good, 560.
 dogmas of Trinity polytheistical, 174.
 converts, condition of, 877 to 879, 557-558.
 conversion, motives for, 558, 878.
 prospects of, 875 to 885.
 measure of success in India, 877 to 879.
 rejection by the people of India, causes of, 881.
 utility of schools for the spread of, 883.
 reasons of a Hindu for rejecting, 187 to 198.

CIRCUIT COURTS. See *Courts*.

CIVIL SERVANTS —
 age of, 264, 303.
 education of, 264, 267, 303.

CODIFICATION

want of, 240.
of Criminal Laws, principle suggested, 262, 268.
of Civil Laws, principle suggested, 265, 266.

COLLECTOR--

qualification of, 282, 283.
powers of, 283.
duties of, 291, 293.
should not have the power of Magistrates, 283.

COMMANDMENTS

against murder extended 188.
against adultery extended, 488.
two great commandments, 518, 525.
the object of all to teach our duty to our fellow-creatures, 553.

COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE,
duties of, 250.

Separation of the office from that of the judge, 254.

COMPANY. See *East India Company*.**CORNWALLIS, MARQUIS OF** his policy, 236.

Judicial and Revenue system of—praised, 254.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT--

only the judges of circuit should have the power of inflicting— and not the Magistrates, 262.

COURT

native lawyers attached to, 242 to 246, 260, 262.
publicity of, 241, 257.
language of, 241, 242.
English preferable to Persian as court language, 242.
corruption and bribery in, 244, 245.

COMPANY'S COURTS—

defects of, 239 to 241.
remedies of the defects, 246 to 250.
delays in, 255, 256.
causes of and remedy for such delays, 255 to 256.

COURT - *Contd.*

general opinion regarding, 245, 246.
irregularities in the proceedings how remedied, 256 to 258.

CIRCUIT COURTS--

judges of, 253.
duties of judges, 259, 260.
evil of making revenue commissioners judges of, 253.

See *Supreme Court, Sudder Debeni Adalut, Judges, Assessors, Jury*.

CRIMINAL LAW (See *Codification*)

founded on the Muhammadan Criminal Law, 261, 262.

CULTIVATOR. See *Ryot*.**COUNCIL OF NICE.**

See *Trinity*.

CUSTOM

always changing in Bengal, 70 to 71.
when to be followed according to Skanda Purana, 353.

DAUGHTER—(See *Marriage*.)

rights to property according to Manu, Vrihaspati, Yajnyavalkya, Vishnu, Dayabhaga, Kattayana, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382.

DAVID--

his name associated with that of God, 616.
holy one, called the, 650 ; 775.
god's first born, called the, 651.

D A Y A B H A G A—(See *Mother, Daughter*.)

Where it differs from the Mitakshara, 389 to 394.

DAYATATWA. (See *Mother*.)**DEATH--**

of the wise, 30.
of the idolater, 76.

DEITY—(See *God, Supreme Being, Vedanta*.)

celestial gods described themselves as Deity in self-forgetfulness, in contemplation, 11, 12.

DEMONS -
represent the power of God from which pain and misery flow, 41.

DEVOTION
constant practice necessary, 14. of two kinds, 208.

DEVI-MAHATMYA
creation of Brahma &c., 111.

DIGBY, letter to Mr. John, 928.

DOGMA
salvation cannot be attained by, 552.
cause of disputes and wars, 556. 609 to 611.
preaching of-, no good, 560.

DUALITY
idea of, caused by ignorance, 60.

DUBOIS, ABBE, REV.--
his opinion about the success of Christianity in India, 877.
his opinion of the several Christian Missions, 878, 879.

DUELLING -
over-looked in Courts of Justice, 400.

EAST INDIA COMPANY
nature of its administration before 1793, 235.
rise of, 233, 234.

EDUCATION
LETTER on English education, the European systems of science advocated, 474.
study of Sanscrit compared with the study of the systems of schoolmen, 472.
the establishment of Sanskrit College, 470.
study of Sanskrit, of not much good, 472.
Vedanta of not much good, 473.
Mimansa useless, 473.
Nyaya of not much good, 473.

ELLIS, MR.--
his opinion about the appointment of Natives of India, 293.

ENAIT AHMED-
a convert, his work against Christianity, 557.

ESTLIN, J. B.--
letter to, 923.

EUROPEANS—(See *Indigo planters*.)
intercourse with, beneficial to the country, 917.
limited control of courts over, 285.
pleaders, 317.
possess an undue advantage over natives for having ready access to the authorities, 317.

SETTLEMENT IN INDIA BY
beneficial, 284, 285, 315, 316.
paper on, 315 to 320.
speech by Rammohun Roy on, 917.
only higher and better classes to be permitted to settle, 284, 317.

in the Hill Stations, 319.
remedies for the evils of, 317 to 319.
jury ought to be composed impartially of both natives and Europeans, 317.

EUROPEAN JUDGES.—(See *Judges*.)

EUROPEAN OFFICERS
amount yearly remitted to Eng. land by, 310.
abstract statement of their number and allowances, 309.
statement showing the offices held by and their salaries, 308-310.

FATHER--(See *Ancestral property*.)
division of property by, established by law and custom, 428.

FATH -
its meaning, 690.

FIRE-
seven names of, 24.
worship of, leads to darkness 76.

FRIEND OF INDIA—

reply to the Brahmunical Magazine, 148.

GAYATRI—

explained, 81, 82.
by Yajnavalkya, 82, 83.
by Raghunandana, 84.
by Guna-Vishnu, 84.
by Sir W. Jones, 86.

its excellence, according to Mahanirvana Tantra, 84.

GOD—(See *Deity, Supreme Being, Vedanta, Worship.*)

attributes, has he any, 183.
ten superior intelligences or attributes of—according to the Jews, 670.
what is he, 29, 135.
neither space nor air, 8.
not nature, 8.
not human soul, 9.
superior to sense, mind and intellect, 54.
the soul of the universe, 40.
the wilful agent of the universe, 12.
efficient as well as material cause, 12.

SOUL—

relation between God and—52, 53, 152.
difference between God and—, 52, 53, 151 to 153.
the difference dependent on the idea of self individuality, 29.

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD—

how attained, 80.
attainable to what extent, 181, 182.
how is God capable of being known, 185.

Sudras capable of, 190.

women capable of, 190.

God to be observed in heart, 30.

Indescribability of God according to Vedanta, how explained, 121.

WAY TO APPROACH, 29 to 31, 55, 56.

UNITY OF—

advocated, 68.

GOD—*Contd.*

established by the scriptures, 617.
established by the Vedas, 9, 10, 105-125.
defended, 89-126.
the Epithet Go—applied in the Bible to persons other than the Supreme Being, 580, 581, 629, 650, 752.

GODS—

celestial—described themselves as deity in self-forgetfulness in contemplation, 11.
efficacy of the repetition of the names of—, 124.
represent the powers of God that lead to happiness, 41.
worship of—leads to darkness, 76.
Paul and Barnabas called—, 630.
celestial gods declared demons by Sankaracharya, 98.

GRIESBACH—

omits I John V. 7, 626.

GURU—

defined, 164.
how to be chosen, 164.

HABEAS CORPUS, 253.

Sudder Dewany Adawlut should have the power of issuing writ of, - 253.

HARITA—

text regarding Suttee, 324.

HASTINGS, MARCHIONESS—
dedication to, 335.

HEBREW—

verbs employed without nominatives, 654.

use of metaphors, frequent, 668.
in addressing God third and second persons are used in immediate sequence as a manner of rhetorical trope, 749.

HERMITS—(See *Householders*).

HINDOOS—toleration of, 148.

HINDUISM--(See *Idolatry, polytheism*).

creed of reformed Hindoos, 198.
modern, consists in diet, 73, 119.
Hindoos do not worship the body
as apart from spirit, 173.
pranapratishtha, 173.
stories of immorality and vice
current in, 124, 125.
prayaschitta, 74.
rites of—allegorical, 4.
Gods allegorical, 4.
Gods allegorical representations
of the attributes of the Deity,
36, 67

HINDU PHILOSOPHY--

creation, preservation and destruc-
tion, how understood in, 81.
attacked by the Missionaries.
146, 145—148, 158.
defended, 151, 161.

HOLY GHOST—(See *Baptism,
Trinity*.)

Godhead of, discussed, 616, 862
to 866.
personality of, considered 616—
618.
proper interpretation of, 618—
621.

nowhere spoken of—as God in
the scriptures, 862.

Isaiah XLVIII. 13, 18 considered,
864 to 866.

Job XXXIII. 4 considered, 866.

HORAE SOLITARÆ—Argument in
favour of Trinity noticed, 868—
870

HOUSEHOLDER—

entitled to worship the Supreme
Being equally with hermits, 15,
25.

authority of Manu, Yajnavalkya,
and Vedanta for the above, 65,
66.

I AM GOD—

how a devotee is justified in
thinking, 208.

IDOL—

the evils of idol worship, 21.

IDOL—Contd.

mode of worship in India, 67.
idol worship how long allowable
according to Vyasa, 207

IDOLATER—

his fate, 75.
his death, 76.

IDOLATRY—(See *God, Hinduism*.)
arguments in its favour shown to
be worthless, 63—70.

Hindoo idolatry, worship of a
couple of male and female
gods, 112.

salvation not attainable by, 355.
condemned by Vishnu Purana and
Bhagavat, 64.

considering God as finite and
subject to passions is sin, 356.
grossness of Hindu idolatry,
65—68.

Worship of gods, *prakriti*, fire,
&c., leads to misery, 75, 76.

IMMANUEL—

its meaning, 774 to 775.
term applied to many, 774.

INCARNATION—(See *Christian-
ity*.)

the common basis of Hinduism
and Christianity, 890 to 908.

INDIA—

its ancient name, 231.

boundaries of, 231.

civilized and sacred land, 232.

conquest by Mahomedans, 233.

decline of the Mogul power, 233.

conquest by the English, 233.

tribute drawn from India expended
in England, 311.

revenue of, proportion spent in
England, 307.

INDIGO PLANTERS—

condition of ryots under, 917.

INHERITANCE—

laws of, 265.

ISAIAH—

Sometimes introduces his own
sentiments while announcing
the words of Jehova, 732, 733,
864.

ISOPANISHAD—
introduction to, 68—74.
translation of, 75—77.

JEHOVA—(See Jesus.)
I am in John VIII not equivalent to, 733.

JESUS—(See Atonement, Trinity, Miracle.)

DIVINITY OF—
denied by himself, 570, 594, 595, 828, 824.
not taught by Jesus, 628.
not taught by the apostles, 626.
inconsistent with the nature of God, 726.
attributes peculiar to God, never ascribed to Jesus, 805.
the term Jehovah never applied to Jesus, 651-652; 792, 790.
apostles applied exclusively to God the verb *λατρεύω* (to serve,) 857.
Jesus a created being, 584.
finite nature of Jesus, 727.
Lock's opinion about, 666.
Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, 667.

UBIQUITY OF—
considered, 585—587; 838 to 846.
Incomprehensibility of, considered, 587 to 589, 846 to 848.

HIS POWER OF FORGIVING SINS—
considered, 589--590; 848 to 850.

OMNIPOTENCE OF—
considered, 850 to 854.
disclaimed by Jesus, 591, 756, 757 for being a mediator considered 803.

FINAL JUDGMENT ENTRUSTED TO—
argument considered, 593, 779, 854.

ACCEPTANCE OF WORSHIP BY—
considered, 594, 855 to 857.
Jesus disclaims the epithet of good, 595.

ASSOCIATION OF THE NAME OF JESUS WITH GOD'S—
its effect considered, 597, 857 to 860

JESUS—Contd.

OMNISCIENCE OF—
considered, 594, 783, 834.
disclaimed by, 593, 834, 854.
Jesus ignorant of the day of resurrection, 588.
power to judge secret events not confined to Jesus, 796, 797.

DEPENDENCE OF, ON GOD—
proved by his own sayings, 573.
proved by the authority of the apostles, 573—575.
son, the term shows power was given to Jesus, 575.
Jesus was subject to God before he came to the world, 575.

Jesus declares himself subordinate to God, 638, 642.
passages showing, 579.
proved by his praying, 597.
interpretation of, passages showing—, as applicable to him as man, unscriptural, 574.

UNITY OF GOD AND JESUS—
nature of, 578, 579, 820, 821.
of the same nature as that of Jesus and his disciples, 577, 820, 821.
"I am in the Father" the meaning of Jesus in, 578, 822.
"As we are one" how explained, 577-578, 820, 821.
passages showing that Jesus was in God conformable to the Vedantic doctrines, 578.
"He that hath seen me hath seen the father" how explained, 579.
"the father in me and I in him" considered, 822.
use of terms 'son' and 'father' do not prove unity or being of the same nature, 821-822.

NATURE AND GREATNESS OF JESUS,
607, 608.

NATURE OF JESUS—
the two-fold— considered, 630, 632, 634, 675, 726, 735, 767, 808, 813, 814.

JESUS—Contd.

his sayings and doings done in his human nature as distinguished from his divine nature unscriptural, 575.

John XX 17, cannot be explained by the theory of the humanity of Christ, 582, 827.

whether Jesus suffered as God or man, 603.

worshipped God not in his human capacity, 856.

Moses also called God and man, 631, 753.

whether represented as wisdom in the proverbs, 761.

MIRACLES—

performed by Jesus by the grace of God, 583.

performing or enabling others to perform, not peculiar to, 806.

MISSION OF
to deliver divine instructions, 710, 711.

nowhere in the scriptures to die on the cross, 710, 711.

John X. 17 considered, 711.

TERMS APPLIED TO JESUS—

Son of God, the term examined, 752.

Only begotten, 674, 798, 819.

First born of God, 752, 812.

applied to David, 651.

Holy one, also applied to David, 649.

Most holy, term applied also to inanimate things, 797.

Saviour and *shepherd*, applied also to many other persons, 605, 651, 655, 720, 747.

Messiah, term applied to various kings, 672.

Messiah, term applied to Hezekiah in Isaiah Ch. VII., 650, 765, 767.

Jehovah, supposed application of the term to Jesus from references made to the Old Testament discussed, 651-655.

JESUS—Contd.**QUOTATIONS BY JESUS—**

from the Old Testament as applicable to him, 637-641.

they all show his subordinate nature, 642.

SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

of the Old Testament in support of the Deity of Jesus discussed, 643-671.

from the prophets in support of Divinity of Christ examined, 761 to 802.

Malachi III, discussed, 652, 777.

Isaiah VII, 14 considered, 650.

Isaiah XL, 3 discussed, 652, 777.

Isaiah IX, 6, 7, 672-674, 771 to 774,

Jeremiah XXIII, 16 discussed, 653.

Zechariah XII, 10 considered, 661.

Zechariah XIII, 7, 868.

Psalm XLV, did not refer to Jesus, 743.

Job XIX, 25, 26, 734, 735.

Philip II, 6 discussed, 809 to 812.

Alpha and *Omega* did not refer to Jesus, 658, 756, 758, 759, 782, 784 to 887.

Word, meaning of, in John I, 582, 829 to 833.

"Word was made flesh" noticed, 833.

Rev I, 1 examined, 786.

Rev I, 8 examined, 758.

John XX, 28 explained, 582, 828.

Jewish morning service quoted, 750.

JOINT PROPERTY—

right of alienation—, according to Mitakshara and Dayabhaga, 491.

JONATHAN—

his interpretation of — Isaiah vi 8, 670.

Isaiah ix 6, 7, 672.

JONES—

his error in interpreting Psalm LXVIII 18, Zech. XII 10, 660-662.

JUDGES—(See *Pleader*.)
 borrowing money by—, 244.
 character of—244, 260.
 European—, incapable of discharging their duties satisfactorily without native assistance, 246.
 fewness of , 239.
 Magistrates should not be —, 235.
 revenue officers should not be —, 253.
 qualification of—, 239, 263.
 salaries of , 208.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM—
 (See *Judges, Court, Law*.)
 remedies for the defects of, 246 to 249, 267.

JURY—
 trial by—, recommended, 247, 250.
 principle understood from ancient times, 250.
 how should trial by jury be introduced, 250.
 from what classes to be selected, 251, 260, 262.
 duties of—, 262.

JUSTICE—(See *Atonement*.)
 the nature of God's, 194.

KABIR—
 notice of, 96.

KALI—
 her worship immoral, 99.

KASHYAPA. (See *marriage*.)

KATHA UPANISHAD—44 to 60.

KATYAYANA—(See *Mother, Daughter*.)

KENA UPANISHAD—33 to 42.

KHUDKASHT RYOTS
 their status in former times, 272.
 their rights violated, 279, 288.
 little benefitted by regulation VIII of 1708, 289

KIDDELL, M^{rs}. Letters to, 930, 931, 932, 933.

KINGDOM OF GOD—
 what it is like to, 531.

KNOWLEDGE OF GOD (See *God*.)

KORAN—
 Ch. I. quoted, 750.
 Ch. II. 5 quoted, 750.

KRISHNA—
 the immorality of—, his worship, 99.
 his evil doings, 124.

KRISHNA CHANDRA RAYA, RAJA (See *Marriage*.)

KULARNAVA—
 absorption in God, how attained, 111.

IURMA PURANA—
 suicide by pilgrims advised, 106.

KULINISM—
 source of the decay of learning and virtue, 121.
 its origin, 121.
 an innovation, 121.

LAKHERAJ—
 Reg. 3 of 1828, condemned, 286.
 petition against Reg. 3 of 1828, 935 to 939.

LAMB. (See *Atonement*.)

LAND TENURES. (See *Ryot, Rent*.)
 in Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Madras, 271.
 under the Mohamedans, 271.
 distinctions of Religions do not affect the holding of lands, 272.
 how are lands let in Bengal, 272.
 land divided in small farms in Madras, 272.
 in Bengal, proprietors do not cultivate, 272.
 lands let to middle-men, 270.

LAW—(See *Codification*.)
 want of publicity of, 241.

LAW AND THE PROPHETS—
 what is as good as, 568.
 their essence, 569.
 law meant the Mosaic law, 570.

LEGISLATION—
 representative men should be consulted in, 266.
 how should be conducted, 265, 266

LOCKE—(See *Trinity*.)

his opinion considered, 606, 871 to 873.
paraphrase of Rom. III. 24, 724.
note on the word redemption, 724.
note on the word mercy-seat, 725.
note on the Ephes. iv. 9, 10, 741.

LOVE—

to God shewn only by obedience to his commands, 570.

LUTHERAN MISSION—(See *Mission*.)**MADHU SING, RAJA OF TRIBUT**,
(See *Polygamy*, 121.)**MAGISTRATES**—(See *Court*.)
should not be judges, 255.**MAHADEO**—

indecency of the worship of, 99.

MAHANIRVANA TANTRA—(See *Gayatri*.)**MAIMONIDES**

God's name of twelve letters in, 670.

MARRIAGE—

sale of daughters and sisters in, 381.

above practice attempted to be prevented by Raja Krishna Chandra, 382 (foot note.)

second—of a man, according to Yajnavalkya, 121, 380.

money presents in the marriage of daughter prohibited by Vedas and Manu, 120, 382.

money presents prohibited by Kashyapa, 382.

MANU (See *Householders, Widows, Burning of widows, Polygamy, Daughter*.)

money presents in marriage prohibited by, 120, 382.

his authority superior to others, 342 to 344

MAYA—

the theory questioned, 149.
creative power of God, 152.
primary meaning of, 154.

MAYA—*Contd*

opposed to knowledge, what is meant by it, 154.

MEDIATOR (See *Atonement*.)

Moses and other prophets also mediators, 635.

MENDICANTS—(See *Yati*.)**METAPHOR**—

metaphorical expressions common with oriental nations, 600

MICHELIS

omits I John V. 7, 626.

MIDDLEMEX

in Bengal, 272.
rvots badly treated by, 279.

MILITIA—

establishment of native Militia, 305, 306.

MIMANSA (See *Education*.)

attacked, 150.

vindicated, 157.

MIRACLES

narations of—makes no impression upon Hindus, 484, 555, 615

moral precepts of Jesus why separated from the narrations of, 484 611.

their importance discussed, 613

Jesus reproaches those that seek for, 613.

belief in, not made imperative by the scriptures, 555.

why made use of, 583.

performing, not equal to being God, 583.

performing miracles and enabling others to perform miracles, not peculiar to Jesus, 806.

prophets performing, without oral addresses to God, 737.

human testimony regarding them considered, 613, 614.

Jainas bear testimony to the miracles of Hindoo Gods, 614.

testimony regarding the miracles of Mohummud, 614.

MISSION—(See *Dubois.*)
 condition of the Baptist—, 879.
 condition of the Lutheran—, 878.
 condition of the Moravian—, 878,
 879.
 condition of the Nestorian— 879.

MISSIONARIES—
 doctrines inculcated by Jesus
 and the apostles different from
 those taught by—, 919
 abuse of the natives by, 175.
 revile all other religions, 145.

MITAKSHARA—
 (See *widow, daughter.*)
 texts deprecating the burning
 of widows, 338.
 where it differs from Dayabhaga,
 389 to 392.

MOHUMMUD—
 the mercy of God. 100.
 his name associated with that of
 God, 598.
 the declaration of—, never mis-
 interpreted by Mohummudans,
 400

MOHUMMUDANS—
 their rule compared with the
 rule of the English, 402.
 state of industry among, 298.

MORALITY—
 indispensable in worshipping the
 Supr.-me Being, 14, 106, 185.
 responsibility of man as a moral
 agent maintained, 106.

MORAVIAN—(See *Mission.*)

MOSES—
 belief in him incumbent upon
 Jews, 598.

MOSHEIM—
 his account of the discord be-
 tween early Christians, 610.
 history of the doctrines of
 Christianity, 627—628.
 his opinion considered, 627, 871.

MOTHER—
 rights to property, according to
 Yajnavalkya, Vishnu, Katy-
 yana, Vyasa, Narada, Vrihaspati,
 Dayabhaga, Dayatattva, 376—
 378

MUFTY. (See *Assessor.*)

MUNDAKA UPANISHAD, 19 to 31.

MUNRO, SIR THOMAS. See
Natives of India.)

MYSTERIES—
 belief in the Christian—, not
 made imperative by the scrip-
 tures, 555.

NANAK—
 worship of his followers, 96.
 his followers, Rammohun Roy's
 sympathy with, 211.

NARADA. (See *Mother.*)

NATIVE JUDICIAL OFFICERS—
 (See *Judges.*)
 their duties, 243.
 their responsibility, 243.
 character of, 244.
 salary of, 245.

NATIVES OF INDIA—
 employment to high posts of, 268,
 269.
 employment to revenue depart-
 ment, 291—293.
 opinion of SIR THOMAS MUNRO,
 MR. RICKARDS, MR. ELLIS on
 the appointment of, 293.
 state of education among, 293.
 their intelligence, 299.
 their intellectual activity, 176.
 morality and religion among, 176,
 296.
 Their capability for improve-
 ment, 299.
 their poverty, 288.
 extravagance in marriage, fune-
 rals and religious ceremonies,
 281
 state of industry among, 298.
 physical condition of, 295.
 increase of population, 298.
 their opinion regarding the Bri-
 tish rule, 300.

NATURE—
 not the cause of the world. 8—9.

NESTORIANS. (See *Mission.*)

NEWS-WRITERS—

employed in the Mohummudan Courts, 465.

NEWTON SIR ISAAC—(See *Trinity*.)

his opinion considered, 666, 871, 872.

NACHIKETA

his history, 47.

NYAYA (See *Education*.)

attacked, 150.

vindicated, 155.

OLD TESTAMENT

quotations from referred to in the New, show the unity of God and the inferiority of the Messiah, 637 to 642.

passages in , in support of the Deity of Jesus considered, 643 to 644.

should be studied before the New, 666.

OM—

its excellence, 52.

explained, 83, 84.

its similarity of sound to Greek *ων*, 84.

OM TATSAT

explained, 83 to 84.

meaning according to Bhagavadgita, 84.

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES (See *Allegory*, *Metaphor*.)

plural number expresses respect in, 624.

PANCHAIT. (See *Jury*.)**PANTHEISM**

distinguished from vedantism, 69, 122.

PARABLE—

of the prodigal son, 534, 696.

the sowers, 512, 522.

the talents, 509.

the ten virgins, 509.

the rich youngman, 515, 538.

the faithful steward, 528.

the good samaritan, 525.

the kingdom of God, 505, 531.

PASSIONS—

overcome by earnest prayer and heartfelt desire, 553.

overcome by repentance and solemn meditation, 185.

PATANJALI—

system of, attacked, 151.

vindicated, 158.

PEASANTRY OF INDIA. (See *Ryot*.)

their food, house and clothing described, 297, 298.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT—
why introduced, 290.

how and upon what principle revenue was assessed, 278.

benefits to proprietors, 280, 288.

benefits to Government, 280, 287, 304.

increase of the value of estates, 287-288.

increase of transit and export duties, 288.

cultivation of waste land, 288

condition of ryots under, 278.

compared with and preferred to the Ryotwary system, 280, 281, 304, 305.

statement regarding the result of, 304, 305.

PLEADERS

Native , not well treated by the Judges, 243.

their character, 245.

Want of influence of, 256.

POLICE—

abuse of power by how remedied, 249.

POLYGAMY—

attempt by Madhu Sing to stop, 121, 379.

evils of, 379.

when allowable according to Yajnavalkya and Manu, 121, 380.

legislation advisable to put a stop to, 380.

POLYTHEISM—(See *Idolatry, Hinduism.*)

Hindus try to reconcile their—, with the doctrine of the unity of God, 562

PRAKRITI—

worship of—, leads to darkness, 76

PRAYASCHITTA—74.

PRAYER.

Secrecy in, 480.

Lord's prayer, 489.

enables a man to overcome passions and to keep the commandments of God, 553.

PRECEPTS OF JESUS, 487 to 543. two great commandments, 506, 518, 525.

sermon on the mount, 487.

commandments against murder and adultery extended, 488.

charity enjoined, 488, 499, 520, 537, 542.

secrecy in well-doing, 489.

pray in secret, 489.

dependence on God, 490.

what defiles a man, 498.

doing the will of the father, 491.

humility, 499, 515.

readiness for the Lord, 508.

except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God, 540.

seek the kingdom of God and its righteousness, 529, 540.

love your enemies, 520.

riches deprecated, 528, 529.

love of God, 528.

render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, 505.

idle words condemned, 495.

the things of the world condemned, 496.

divorce condemned, 501.

moral in what sense used in the precepts, 549, 550.

alone sufficient for salvation, 550, 568, 693, 695.

not only a code of morality but also a code of religion, 560.

PRECEPTS OF JESUS—*Contd.* scriptural passages showing their sufficiency, 568-569.

PRESS—

want of a public —, as a check on judicial irregularities, 241.

PRESS REGULATIONS

the nature and scope of the restrictions, 451-452.

origin of 437, 447.

history of the agitation against, 447-448.

reasons against, 437 to 442, 451 to 467.

memorial to the Supreme Court, 437 to 443

appeal to the King in Council, 445 to 467.

PRIDEAUX, DR.

book on *Connections* referred to, 672.

on *Isaiah IX*, 6, 7, 672.

PRIVY COUNCIL—

right of appeal whether beneficial, 258-259.

value of suits in which appeal allowed, 304.

PROVINCIAL COURTS—

powers of, 253.

number of, 253.

formerly also Courts of Circuit, 253.

difference between—, and the District Courts, 252-253.

PURANAS—

attacked, 159.

vindicated, 161 to 166.

PURITY—

not attainable by superstitious practices, 70.

how attained, 70.

RAGHUNANDANA—

(See *Gayatri, Burning of widows.*)

RAMMOHUN ROY—

autobiography, 223 to 225.

causes of his visit to England, 236.

his journey to France, 926.

his idea of God and religion, 135, 136, 211, 198, 207, 208.

RAMMOHUN ROY - *Contd.*
 the doctrines of Christianity publicly denied by, 675, 686, 687.
 nobody could be opposed to the worship taught by, 136.
 sympathy with the followers of NANAK, DADOG, KABIR, SANTA and the SANNYASIS, 211.
 sympathy with the Unitarians, 211.
 his love of liberty, 923, 927.
 his opinion of Europeans, 236.
 speech on settlement by Europeans, 917.
 speech at London, 917.
 translation of the New Testament attempted, 884.

RANJIT SING
 his power and character, 234.

RATHBONE, MR. WILLIAM letter to, 925.

RE-BIRTH, 160, 164.

REDEEMER
 Job XIX, 21-26, explained, 708.

REDEMPTION - (See *Atonement*.)
 what is meant by, 724.

REES, DR. T.
 letter to, 921.

REFORM BILL
 Rammohun Roy's joy at the passing of, 925.
 Rammohun Roy's opinion on, 925.

REGISTRATION -
 of deeds, plan recommended, 248, 249.

REGULATION.
 (See *Law, Legislation, Codification*.)

RENT - (See *Ryot*.)
 rates of, 272.
 rates of, what it is in theory, 272, 274.
 principle upon which it is regulated, 274.
 frequent increase of, 273.
 excessive, 291.
 further increase should be interdicted, 278, 290, 291.

RENT - *Contd.*
 re-measurements to be interdicted, 278.
 maximum to be fixed, 290, 305.
 how paid, 274.
 arrears how realized, 275, 276.
 abwabs, 289.

REPENTANCE - (See *Sin*.)
 scriptural passages showing repentance sufficient for the forgiveness of sin, 695, 696, 718.

REPORTS
 Law Reports, want of, 241.

RESUMPTION - (See *Lakherai*.)

REVENUE
 from whom collected by Government, 275.
 arrears, imprisonment for non-realization of, 281.
 arrears how realized, 275, 276.
 proportion of the arrears, 275.

REVENUE COURTS - (See *Collectors*.)

REVENUE SALE
 abuses of, 277.
 remedy proposed, 277.
 how conducted, 276.
 what indulgence given to the defaulter, 276.
 warning given to the defaulter, 276.
 causes of frequent sales of lands, 281.
 purchasers at, who are, 276.

REVENUE SYSTEM
 (See *Zamindar, Permanent Settlement, Ryot, Ryotwari System*.)
 under the Mahomedan Rule, 271, 272, 289.
 deviation from the System of Lord Cornwallis regretted, 283.
 reduction of Revenue Establishment proposed, 291 to 293.

RICKARDS, MR. (See *Natives of India*.)
 Rickards' "India," letters from, 927, 928.

RIGVEDA. - (See *Burning of widows*.)

RITES—(See *Hinduism*.)

observance of, fit for the ignorant and should not be taught by the learned, 346.
not indispensable to the acquisition of the knowledge of God, 15, 16, 129.
do not lead to salvation, 25, 339, 345, 346.
observance of religious rites only selfish, 75.
leads to misery, 75.
source of pain according to *Upanishad* and *Bhagavadgita*, 327.

RYOTS—(See *Rent*.)

condition of, 278, 280.
mode of improving the condition of, suggested, 278.
physical condition of, 295.
incapability to accumulate capital, 282.
rate of wages, 297.
their food, 297.
houses, 298.
clothing, 298.
their position under the Mahomedan Rule, 289.
rights of Khudkasht,— 272.
who are Khudkasht Ryots, 272.
rights violated, 288.

Khudkasht—little benefitted by the Regulations of 1793, 289.
how treated by middlemen, 279.
protection of, laws not sufficient for, 279.

how justice and protection can be secured for ryots, 278, 279.

RYOTWARY SYSTEM

compared with the zaminary system, 280, 304.

abuses by subordinate officers and their remedies, 281, 282.

Collectors should not have the power of Magistrates, 282.
evils of, 281, 303.

statement regarding the, in Madras, 304.

SABAT—

a convert—his works against Christianity, 557.

SABBATH—

morning service quoted, 750.
healing, 520, 531.

SABELLIUS—

his opinion about Jesus, 761.

SACRIFICE. (See *kites*, *atonement*.)

obedience better than, 701.
not sufficient for salvation, 690.

SANKER SASTRI—

probably an Englishman, 89.
controversy with him, 89—100.

SANKHYA—

attacked, 151.
vindicated, 158.

SALVATION. (See *Beatitude*.)

cannot be obtained by faith in Christ, 554.

cannot be obtained by dogmas, 553.

sacrifice not sufficient for, 699.

precepts of Jesus sufficient for, 691—694.

knowledge of God is the only way to, 110.

the only means of attaining, 227.
obedience to God sufficient for, 555.

SAVIOUR—

epithet explained, 605.

the epithet applied to many in the scripture, 605, 655, 716, 719, 720.

Jesus is a saviour for inculcating the word of God, 605.

term applied to Christ alone in the New Testament, 789.

SCRIPTURES—

their translation in Bengalee not read, 884.

present used for the future in, 585.

mode of reconciling apparent contradictions in, 681

difficulties arising from neglecting this mode, 681.

SERMON ON THE Mount, 487.

SHAMACHAR DURPAN
attack against Hinduism by, 147.
strictures against Hindu philosophy, 149, 150, 159.

SIN—
its definition, 46.
unconnected with diet and rites, 46.
of two kinds, 196.
expiation of, 184.
forgiven freely according to scriptures, 723.
whether it is self-sufficiency to expect to be saved by repentence, and virtuous life, 197.
forgiveness obtained by repentence only, 552, 572, 695.
Jesus' power of forgiving- discussed, 589, 590, 818-850.
angels also forgive sin, 608.
committed against the infinite is not infinite, 729.
punishment of, 185.
eternal punishment of unreasonable, 729.
everlasting fire, &c., in the original Greek does not mean eternal, 729.

SINGING

in divine contemplation authorized by Yajnavalkya, 94.

SKANDA PURANA. (See *Burning of widows, Custom.*)

SON OF GOD - (See *Jesus.*)

angels of God and some ancients called, 577.

SOUL

what it is, 52, 152, 153.

SPIRITUAL DEVOTION (See *Worship.*)
of two kinds, 208.

SPIRITUAL TEACHER (See *Guru.*)

SREEKRISHNA TARKALANKAB
when did he flourish, 428

STEPHEN -

his invocation before death explained, 856.

SUBRAHMANYA SHASTRI-
controversy with him, 129-131.

SUDDER AMINS -
their powers, 243.
new arrangements suggested, 247-248.

SUDDER DEWANY ADAWLAT
the ability of the Judges, 253.
suggestions for improving, 253.
should have the power of issuing writ of Habeas corpus, 253.
pleaders of, 245.

SUDDER NIZAMUT ADAWLUT
competency of the Judges, 261.
procedure of, 260.

SUDRAS

capable of the knowledge of God, 130.

SUICIDE

by pilgrims, 106.
by widows, 106.

SUPREME BEING (See *God, Deity, Vedanta, Worship.*)
accurate and positive knowledge of, not possible, 7, 40, 183.
known by his works, 7, 8.
nature of, 23.
described, 8, 26, 28, 39, 40.
persons entitled to worship, 70.
worship of, to be taught to all 138.
worship of, practicable, may be obligatory, 123.

SUPREME COURT

enormous cost to suitors, 285.
the above pointed out by two successive grand juries, 285.
extension of its jurisdiction whether advisable, 285.

SUTTEE (See *Burning of widows.*)

TALMUD SANHEDRIM shows Isaiah IX, 6, referred to Hezekiah, 673.

TANTRAS

their indecency, 99.
attacked, 159.
vindicated, 161 to 166.

TARGUM—(See *Jonathan*.)

THEISM—(See *God, Worship*.)
defence of Hindu, 89 to 100,

TOLERATION—
in religion, 211, 212.

TRADE—
effects of opening the Indian, 288.

TRANSMIGRATION—160, 165.

TRIBUTE—(See *India*.)

TRINITY—(See *Jesus, Holy Ghost*.)
argument drawn from the analogy
of soul, will and perception
considered, 632.

mathematical argument in sup-
port of, 667.

Mr. Serle's argument, 668.

theories contradictory regarding,
189, 190.

theory of Dr. Waterland, 189.

of Dr. Wallis, 189.

Dr. Taylor, 189.

Archbishop Secker, 189.

Archbishop Tillotson, 189.

Bishop Bull, 189.

Pearson and Dr. Owen, 189.

Bishop Burgess, 189.

Dr. Thomas Burnet, 190.

Bishop Gastrell, 190.

Mr. Howe, 190.

Bishop Heber, 191.

Locke and Newton did not believe
in, 666.

condemned, 170, 187.

dialogue between a missionary
and three Chinese converts,
911 to 913.

DOCTRINE, not taught by the
apostles, 626 to 628.

first introduced in the fourth
century, 627.

primitive Christians did not con-
sider belief in —in dispensable,
628.

history of the doctrine, 627—629.

prevalence of polytheistical ideas;
the reason of its acceptance at
the Council of Nice, 629.

TERM not found in the scrip-
tures, 730.

TRINITY—*Contd.*
believed because taught in youth,
171, 630, 688.

PASSAGES in the Old Testament
in support of—, examined, 730
to 760.

holy thrice repeated. its effect,
625.

I John V. 7, an interpolation, 625,
626.

plural number expresses respect,
624, 625.

Hindu doctrine compared with,
636, 675, 874.

TUHFATUL MUWAHHIDDIN—
941 to 957.

TYTLER, DR.—
controversy with, 891 to 908.

UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION—
speech of Rammohun Roy at, 917,
918.

**UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF CAL-
CUTTA**—
the condition of, 922.

UNITARIANS—
their worship why preferred, 201
— 203.

Rammohun Roy's sympathy with
them, 211.

UNITY OF GOD. (See *God*.)

UPANISHAD. (See *Mundakopani-
shad, Kenopanishad, Kathopani-
shad, Isopanishad, Rites, Burn-
ing of widows*.)

VEDAS—
all prove the unity of God, 10.

defence of the Monotheistical
system, 105 to 126.

do not consider rites excellent,
345 to 346.

VEDANTA—(See *Education, Maya*.)
abridgment of the—, 1 to 17.

explains why the Vedas call space
and other things God, 10.

Pantheism distinguished from
Vedantism, 69, 123.

attacked, 149.

vindicated 151, 152.

VEDANTA—(Contd.)
its doctrines explained, 181 to 186.

similes of, explained, 153.
attributes of God, 188.
not atheistic, 562.

ignorance of the real nature of God declared by the scriptures, as well as by the—, 563.

worship of Supreme Being practicable according to, nay obligatory, 123.

VICARIOUS SACRIFICE. (See *Atonement*.)

VIRGIN—

in Old Testament did not refer to Mary, 648 to 645, 765—767.
mis-translation of Isaiah XXIII. 12, 767.

VISHNU. (See *Burning of widows, Mother*.)

VRIHASPATI. (See *Mother, Daughter*.)

VYASA—(See *Mother*.)

worship according to, 207, 208.

WAGES—

rate of—of the peasantry and labourers in India, 297.

WARE, REV. HENRY—

letter to, 875 to 885.

WIDOWS (See *Burning of widows*.)

their miserable condition, 378, 379.

Manu on the duties of widows, 325, 328.

Yajnavalkya on ditto, 325.

by asceticism may attain salvation, 348.

rights according to Mitakshara and Dayabhaga, 391 to 393.

entitled to dispose of husband's property according to Mitakshara, 391.

WIFE—

control of husbands over—, not sufficient guard against sin, 331.

WILL—

known to Hindoos, 427 to 429, 433.
Sanskrit terms for it, 433.

WOMEN—(See *Mother, Daughter*.)
capable of the knowledge of God, 130, 351, 361.

knowers of God, 130.

not inferior in understanding, 360.
education of, neglected, 361.

more faithful than men, 361.
their miserable condition described, 362, 378, 379.
their rights to property, 375 to 384.

WOODFORD, MR.

letters to, 926, 927.

WOODFORD MRS.—

letter to, 924.

WORD—(See *Jesus*.)

John I. 1-14, considered, 648, 829 to 833.

WORKS—(See *rites*.)

their influence, 160, 164-165.

WORSHIP—(See *Householder, Ancestors, God, Brahma, Supreme Being*.)

of inferior gods enjoined to the incapable, 13, 108.

mode enjoined in the Vedas, 14.

God the sole object of, 13.

of God not impossible, 123.

of the Supreme Being, persons desirous are entitled to it, 70.

of the Supreme Being, should be taught to all, 138.

what is, 135.

different modes of, 207-208.

what it should be, 541.

mode of true, 122, 128, 136, 137.

good action and command over the passions and senses indispensable in, 14, 20.

morality, observance of, a part of the worship of God and indispensable for it, 14, 106, 185.

does not consist in gestures of the body, 198.

WORSHIP—*Contd.*

whether regulation of food and conduct necessary, 137, 141.
 sacred authorities, 188.
 singing and dancing in, 94.
 was Rammohun Roy hostile to any form of—, 136.
 its meaning in the Scriptures, 595, 782.
 prophets accept worship, 595, 781
 782.
 worship sometimes means token of civil respect, 782.

YAJNAVALKYA. (See *Householder, Gayatri, Singing, Marriage, Widows, Mother, Polygamy, Daughter.*)

YATES, REV. MR.—
 translation of the New Testament commenced by Rammohun Roy with, 884.

YATI. (See *Householder.*)

YOGA—
 what it is, 50.

ZEMINDARS—(See *Permanent Settlement.*)
 their position under the Mohamedan rule, 271, 289.

